

that were manufactured east of the Mississippi River, giving employment and wages to thousands of industrial workers in the eastern third of the Nation, two thousand miles away.

All of this work needs, of course, a more business like system of planning, (and) a greater foresight than we use today.

And that is why I recommended to the last session of the Congress the creation of seven planning regions, in which local people will originate and coordinate recommendations as to the kind of this work (of this kind) to be done in their particular regions. The Congress (will), of course, will determine the projects to be selected within the budget limits.

To carry out any twentieth century program, we must give the Executive branch of the Government twentieth century machinery to work with. I recognize that democratic processes are necessarily and, I think, rightly slower than dictatorial processes. But I refuse to believe that democratic processes need be dangerously slow.

For many years we have all known that the Executive and Administrative departments of the Government in Washington are a higgledy-piggledy patchwork of duplicate responsibilities and overlapping powers. The reorganization of this vast Government machinery which I proposed to the Congress last winter does not conflict with the principle of the democratic process, as some people say. It only makes that process work more efficiently.

On my recent trip many people have talked to me about the millions of men and women and children who still work at insufficient wages and overlong hours.

American industry has searched the outside world to find

new markets -- but it can create on its very doorstep the biggest and most permanent market it has ever (had) seen. It needs the reduction of trade barriers to improve its foreign markets, but it should not overlook the chance to reduce the domestic trade barrier right here -- right away -- without waiting for any treaty. A few more dollars a week in wages, a better distribution of jobs with a shorter working day will almost overnight make millions of our lowest-paid workers actual buyers of billions of dollars of industrial and farm products. That increased volume of sales ought to lessen other cost of production so much that even a considerable increase in labor costs can be absorbed without imposing higher prices on the consumer.

I am a firm believer in fully adequate pay for all labor. But right now I am most greatly concerned in increasing the pay of the lowest-paid labor -- those who are our most numerous consuming group but who today do not make enough to maintain a decent standard of living or to buy the food, and the clothes and the other articles necessary to keep our factories and farms fully running.

I think that farsighted business men already understand and agree with this policy. They agree also that no one section of the country can permanently benefit itself, or the rest of the country, by maintaining standards of wages and hours (far) that are far inferior to other sections of the country.

Most business men, big and little, know that their Government neither wants to put them out of business nor to prevent them from earning a decent profit. In spite of the alarms of a few who seek to regain control (of) over American life, most

business men, big and little, know that their Government is trying to make property more secure than ever before by giving every family a real chance to have a property stake in the Nation.

Whatever danger there may be to the property and profits of the many, if there be any danger, comes not from Government's attitude toward business but from restraints now imposed upon business by private monopolies and financial oligarchies. The average business man knows that a high cost of living is a great deterrent to business and that business prosperity depends much upon a low price policy which encourages the widest possible consumption. As one of the country's leading economists recently said -- "The continuance of business recovery in the United States depends far more (up)on business policies, business pricing policies, than it does on anything that may be done, or not done, in Washington."

Our competitive system is, of course, not altogether competitive. Anybody who buys any large quantity of manufactured goods knows this, whether it be the Government or an individual buyer. We have anti-trust laws, to be sure, but they have not been adequate to check the growth of many monopolies. Whether or not they might have been (adequate) originally adequate, interpretation by the courts and the difficulties and delays of legal procedure have now definitely limited their effectiveness.

We are already studying how to strengthen our anti-trust laws in order to end monopoly -- not to hurt but to free legitimate business of the Nation.

I have touched briefly on these important subjects, which, taken together, make a program for the immediate future. And I know

you will realize that to attain it, legislation is necessary.

As we plan today for the creation of ever higher standards of living for the people of the United States, we are aware that our plans may be most seriously affected by events in the world outside our borders.

By a series of trade agreements, we have been attempting to recreate the trade of the world (which) that trade of the world that plays so important a part in our domestic prosperity; but we know that if the world outside our borders falls into the chaos of war, world trade will be completely disrupted.

Nor can we view with indifference the destruction of civilized values throughout the world. We seek peace, not only for our generation but also for the generation of our children.

We seek for them, our children, the continuance of world civilization in order that their American civilization may continue to be invigorated, helped by the achievements of civilized men and women in all the rest of the world.

I want our great democracy to be wise enough to realize that aloofness from war is not promoted by unawareness of war. In a world of mutual suspicions, peace must be affirmatively reached for. It cannot just be wished for. And it cannot just be waited for.

We have now made known our willingness to attend a conference of the parties to the Nine Power Treaty of 1922 -- the

Treaty of Washington, of which we are one of the original signatories. The purpose of this conference will be to seek by agreement a solution of the present situation in China. In efforts to find that solution, it is our purpose to cooperate with the other signatories to this Treaty, including China and Japan.

Such cooperation would be an example of one of the possible paths to follow in our search for means toward peace throughout the whole world.

The development of civilization and of human welfare is based on the acceptance by individuals of certain fundamental decencies in their relations with each other. And, equally, the development of peace in the world is dependent similarly on the acceptance by nations of certain fundamental decencies in their relations with each other.

Ultimately, I hope each nation will accept the fact that violations of these rules of conduct are an injury to the well-being of all nations.

Meanwhile, remember that from 1913 to 1921, I personally was fairly close to world events, and in that period, while I learned much of what to do, I also learned much of what not to do.

The common sense, the intelligence of the people of America agree with my statement that "America hates war. America hopes for peace. Therefore, America actively engages in the search for peace."

INFORMAL, EXTEMPORANEOUS REMARKS OF THE
PRESIDENT AT THE DEDICATION OF THE NEW
POST OFFICE AND IN COMMEMORATION OF THE
TWO HUNDRED AND FIFTIETH ANNIVERSARY OF
THE FOUNDING OF THE CITY OF POUGHKEEPSIE,
NEW YORK, OCTOBER 13, 1937.

Mr. Chairman, Mayor Spratt, Mr. Postmaster, ladies
and gentlemen:

I have come today, not in an official capacity, not
to make a speech, but as one of your neighbors to take part in
your celebration.

Before I say anything about the history of Poughkeepsie,
let me straighten out this matter of my being an architect.

I think the easiest way to put it is this: If, when
this new Post Office is completed and the murals are in place
and you good people of Poughkeepsie have had a chance to look
at it, day after day, if, then, you like it, I will take all
the credit in the world. But, if you don't like it when it is
finished, why, I had nothing to do with it whatsoever.

As a matter of fact, what the Secretary of the Treas-
ury has said to you about government architecture is well worth
further study. The government every year builds a great many
buildings in order to conduct government business more efficient-
ly. The principal criterion for putting up a new building is, of
course, need. The second is economy. It probably is better, in
most cases, for the government to own a building than to rent a
building. It saves money in the long run.

All over the United States, there are scattered the
most terrible monstrosities of architecture perpetrated by the
Government on the people of the United States. To be sure, many
of them were built during an unfortunate period of art, but in
these latter years we think that we have returned to the simpler
forms, returned to practical architecture, which, at the same
time, has beauty.

And during these past four or five years, partly be-
cause of the situation of unemployment in the Nation, we have
been enabled to bring into the Government service many, many
people who otherwise might have been out doing private work. To
them much credit is due for the improvement of the architecture
of all the Federal buildings in every county and every state of
the United States.

Poughkeepsie is to be congratulated not only on its
past but also on its future on this 250th anniversary of its
founding. This City has a memorable history, a history that is
concerned with the development of our earliest American civiliza-
tion, a history that goes back to the days when the first white
people came to the Hudson River on this side, in this section, and
began tilling the soil, began putting up mills on the banks of the
river, began organizing a county form of government.

As a community it became of sufficient importance by
the time of the Revolution to become for a period the Capital of
the State of New York. It had become of sufficient importance in
1788 to be the scene of the convention called to pass on the ratifi-
cation of the Federal Constitution. Only two blocks from here that
Convention met in the little old courthouse.

I have wished much that we knew more about that Convention a hundred and forty-nine years ago. We do know of the terrific struggle that went on between the Clintonians and the Hamiltonians; how, for many weeks, it looked as if New York State would fail to ratify the Federal Constitution. We know also that if New York had failed to ratify, this Union of ours would have been in the difficult predicament of having about half of its members, the New England States, separated from the other half of its members by the State of New York, not a member. That is why it was such a matter of importance. The deadlock, as most of you know, was over the question of whether the Constitution should be ratified in the absence of a Bill of Rights. The people, even in those days, were talking about freedom of religion and freedom of the press, just as they are rightly doing it today. And the Clintonian faction insisted that the Constitution should not be ratified because it had no Bill of Rights in it. The Hamiltonian faction, to which incidentally, my great, great grandfather belonged as a member of the Convention, said that it did not make much difference. It took leadership on the part of the Dutchess County delegates to suggest a compromise, the compromise that the State of New York should ratify the Federal Constitution in full faith and confidence that the Bill of Rights would be put in at the earliest possible moment. That is how we New Yorkers came to be a part of the Union and that is one reason why, at the first opportunity, a Bill of Rights was put in.

And then, after the organization of the Federal Government, years passed and this county, this part of the River, became the great granary of New York City. If you will go back in the history of Poughkeepsie to about the middle of the last century, you will find references to what you and I would call "booms". Mills were started up in different parts of the county. Organizations were being formed to build railroads into various parts of the county, and in the early 70's, a group of citizens talked about the first bridge over the Hudson River. Most of those plans were fulfilled.

Very few of us are old enough to remember those days, but most of us who are here can remember, not long ago, a couple of decades, a little more than that perhaps, one of our neighbors who had a vision. He had a vision about what we call "New Market Street". And we can remember the congestion of traffic down there at Main and Market Streets before this extension was built. In those early days Mr. James E. Sague, whom we ought to honor and do honor today, planned the opening up of Market Street Extension. The result of the opening up of this Street gave him the vision, back in those days, that at the head of the street, with a vista extending over many blocks, there should be some beautiful building, well erected and a credit to the city.

And so, though he is gone, his dream is coming true today, and at the head of New Market Street there will be what I hope you will say is an architectural gem.

Yes, I am glad to be here with my neighbors on this Two Hundred and Fiftieth Anniversary of the Founding of Poughkeepsie on the One Hundred and Fiftieth year of the signing of the Constitution of the United States. I think always of Dutchess County and its County Seat as a very close part of my life. And, although I am temporarily resident elsewhere, I get back here, as you know, just as often as public business will let me and I am going to keep on coming back and being your Neighbor.

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RADIO ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT
in connection with the program of the annual
Community Mobilization for Human Needs
from Hyde Park, New York
October 18, 1937, 10.30 P.M., E.S.T.

CHAIRMAN TAFT, COMMUNITY CHEST WORKERS, FRIENDS OF HUMAN NEEDS:

Each year, as we emerge further from the insecurity and want of the depression, we have a better right to look back with satisfaction at the ground which we have covered. But even while we can take satisfaction in this glance backward, we have a serious, inescapable obligation to look forward at the same time and to do it with honesty and vision.

There is danger that we may be blinded by the welcome light of returning prosperity to the very real need that still exists for a considerable part of our population. We must not forget that there are people who are still hungry, their children undernourished; that rags are the clothing of many of our countrymen and miserable shacks or crowded city tenements their only home. These are the things that make it imperative for us to go forward without hesitation in our efforts to bring security, opportunity, and a decent standard of living to all our people, so that our prosperity may be a more true prosperity for the whole Nation.

In this great effort to better the conditions of those who do not now share the freedom from actual want which most of us enjoy, it is important that all agencies, both public and private, receive the Nation's support. It must not be thought that the responsibility which the public assumed through its government, local or national, for the problems of welfare lessens the need for the many services of the

private agencies. This need continues and can only be met with generous support from those who are fortunate in their ability to give, even though the gift be relatively a small one.

Again this year, Community Chests representing these agencies in your own community, will appeal to you for moral and financial support so that these needs may be met. All of us have an obligation to face this need honestly and then to give as generously as our individual means will permit. To help our neighbors is a part of the best American tradition. For us the long view of life has included at every turn the principle of mutual aid.

The Federal Government with the return of prosperity must more and more narrow the circle of its relief activities and reduce the amount of Federal revenue to be expended in the amelioration of human want and distress in the various communities of our land. I say this because we all agree that unless Federal taxes are to be greatly increased, the expenditures have to be brought within the existing tax receipts. Although Federal Government relief activities have to be curtailed, there must needs be no abatement of state, and local and, especially, of individual relief work. Indeed, local and private activities (must be) ought to be increased.

I would, therefore, make an especial appeal that Federal officials and our Government employees wherever they are found ought to take a leading part in cooperating with local and community relief workers in carrying forward their unremitting campaign for the alleviation of the want and suffering that still stalk the land. The wholehearted cooperation of Federal workers will not only aid the work immediately in hand but it will also afford an excellent and practical

example of the right kind of community spirit.

And as I dwell upon the practical force of good example in well-doing there comes to my mind the example of the City of Denver which now for half a century has given to the other cities of the country. Denver, I am informed, is observing tonight the fiftieth anniversary of joint financing. The Denver beginning was a forerunner of what has been developed into the four hundred and fifty Community Chests (of) throughout the country.

State and local governments are assuming an increased responsibility for those who are unable to work, for those who are ill, for the provision of adequate educational and recreational opportunities for all. In every American community the generosity of private giving makes possible the never-ceasing campaign waged by private welfare agencies to bring opportunities otherwise denied; to render needed services not otherwise available and to pioneer in new fields that widen the horizon of (us) all of us.

This work can only go forward with the generous cooperation of all of us. The Community Chest offers us once again the opportunity to express our fundamental belief in the principles on which our democracy was founded, by the generous, wholehearted and spontaneous giving of our money and our good will. And so I ask you to help, to help even more greatly than ever before.

ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT
on the occasion of the official opening
of the Federal Reserve Building
Washington, D. C.
October 20, 1937, 3.00 P.M.

MR. CHAIRMAN, BOARD OF GOVERNORS, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN:

You have come here this afternoon for something more than a mere formality. This structure is worthy to rank among the foremost of the Capital's architectural (achievements) developments. (and) You and I have gathered here to pay tribute to the beauty and dignity of line and form wrought by those who conceived and executed this building.

But I think that we are conscious of a larger meaning in this brief ceremony -- conscious of the role that the Federal Reserve plays in the broad purpose which this Government must serve. That purpose is to gain for all of our people the greatest attainable measure of economic well-being, the largest degree of economic security and stability.

To advance the country towards this goal is the real mission of the Federal Reserve System. It cannot be attained by that System alone, but neither can it be reached without the proper functioning of our monetary and credit machinery. That machinery must be steadily perfected and coordinated with all other instruments of Government in order to promote the most productive utilization of our human and material resources. Only in that way can we hope to achieve and maintain an enduring prosperity, free from the disastrous extremes of booms and depressions. Only in that way can our economic system and our democratic institutions endure hand in hand.

Nearly a quarter of a century has passed since the Federal Reserve System was established. Its creation, out of the Nation's banking experience from the beginning of the Republic, was due to the statesmanship of President Woodrow Wilson, (applause) and to the courageous leadership in the Congress for which the Senior Senator from Virginia, Carter Glass, will always deserve the Nation's gratitude. (Applause)

And I think that it is fitting that President Wilson's portrait in bronze should have the place of honor in the main entrance to this building. (and) It is appropriate that the words inscribed under it should be taken from his first inaugural address. Let me quote them:

"We shall deal with our economic system as it is and as it may be modified, not as it might be if we had a clean sheet of paper to write upon; and step by step we shall make it what it should be."

Those penetrating words admirably apply to our banking system, which must be constantly alert to changing conditions in order that it may be prepared to adapt itself to the growing and changing needs of our people in their daily life and work.

The Federal Reserve System, as it was originally established, was adapted to the pre-war world and brought about a great improvement in the money system. Steps were taken, as we remember, in 1917 to adapt it to the urgent necessities of a war-ridden world. In mobilizing the country's gold reserves and in facilitating the Government's vast financing operations, the Reserve System performed a vital role in the winning of (the) that war.

It is clear now, in retrospect, that if further changes to meet post-war conditions had been made in our banking system in the 1920's, it would have been in a far better position to moderate the forces that brought about the great depression. But from the end of the war until we were in the midst of economic collapse a decade later, no changes were made in the banking structure to make it function more effectively in the public interest.

And since that time the Nation has done much to improve (its) this banking system of ours. It must continue step by step to make the banking system what it should be. We must not complacently suppose that we have achieved perfection. We have provided for the insurance of deposits for the benefit of the great mass of small depositors. And by the Banking and Security Exchange Acts of 1933, and (19)34 and (19)35, the Federal Reserve System was given increased power to improve banking conditions and to aid the Government in combatting practices which (were) have proved evil in their results. Those powers have been concentrated to a greater degree than before in a single public body, so that they can be used promptly and effectively in accordance with the changing needs of the country. 1937 is not 1913; nor do we want to turn the hands of the clock back.

The Federal Reserve system, tested by nearly a quarter of a century of operation, is a public institution capable of adaptation to future, as it has been to past needs and past conditions. It is a piece of machinery vital to the Nation's steady progress, a progress towards the goal of a sounder banking system capable of contributing its full share to lasting economic progress and well-being.

The Board of Governors, whose building we are dedicating

today, was reconstituted by the Banking Act of 1935. To this public body the Congress has entrusted broad powers which enable it to affect the volume and the cost of money, thus exerting a powerful influence upon the expansion and the contraction in the flow of money through the channels of agriculture, trade and industry. In this way much can be done towards the maintenance of more stable employment. And much can be done to aid in achieving greater stability of the true value of the dollar.

By their nature these important powers are of public concern and the responsibility for their exercise is properly vested in a public body. Much as they may contribute to the country's progress, monetary powers possess no peculiar or exclusive magic. They are not omnipotent. To be effective in performing their function, they must be closely co-ordinated with the other major powers and policies of government which influence the country's economic life from year to year.

So, the Federal Reserve System as it exists today is better adapted than ever before to play its part in common with the other instrumentalities of government in the attainment of that increasing well-being for all of our people, which is the fundamental objective of all our government.

I dedicate this building today to progress, to progress toward the ideal of an America in which every worker will be able to provide his family at all times with an ever-rising standard of American comfort.

INFORMAL REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT
MADE TO THE DELEGATION REPRESENTING
THE PEOPLE'S MANDATE TO END WAR.
(Not to be used verbatim)

I am not only glad to say "God Speed" but I wish I could go with you. I shall never forget, of course, that trip last year. It was the most amazing experience anybody could have and sometime in the next three years I hope to have an opportunity to go down the West Coast of South America as far as Chile.

There is one thing that perhaps you do not realize as much as I realize it, as I am so closely in touch with affairs all over the world. What has been done in the three Americas for the last four years not only resulted in very definite progress in our hemisphere but had a very great effect in other parts of the world! More than perhaps you would realize from reading of the belligerent attitude of some other countries.

The people all over the world are beginning to say to themselves, here is the most interesting thing that has ever happened. Here is a whole continent that has abolished war, a whole continent that has provided machinery so that any question between nations may be peaceably settled.

Of course, we have had treaties ourselves, say these other people, but unfortunately we are not quite certain about the adherence to these treaties. In the America's they have the idea not only of making treaties but of living up to them.

And I think this is an important point to make on the trip: that these treaties are not scraps of paper.

What is the use, after all, of making national treaties if the world as a whole is in the frame of mind to violate them on the spur of the moment or use them merely to meet temporary needs.

That point is one to be brought up. These are treaties to be lived up to.

I said I would like to go back to South America again. It was a very wonderful trip and it ought to be followed up not only by this Caravan but by a great many other agencies that we have, not merely commercial, but educational, scientific and those in all other fields of our human life.

I am glad you are going by air, but of course everybody cannot travel by air. One thing that impressed me last year was the difficulty of persons living in Buenos Aires or Montevideo getting to the United States. It is very difficult for modern Americans to get down there on account of the lack of good steamship facilities and their slowness.

One of the things I am working on now with the Maritime Commission is trying to get a line started down the East Coast of South America which will get people down there with a lot more speed and a lot more comfort and I think in the course of the next year we are going to have good steamship service with the East Coast of South America.

You have good West Coast service now with Chile but other parts are harder of access.

I am very glad to see you all again. The People's Mandate is undoubtedly growing. Last year you brought one man and now there are half a dozen with you; so I hope you will keep up the good work and bring more men with you.

INFORMAL, EXTEMPORANEOUS REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT
to the members of a torch light parade
from Hyde Park and Poughkeepsie
Election Night, November 2, 1937.

Let me present to you the first Supervisor the town of Hyde Park has had in our memory and also I make him the promise ahead of time, I think I am right, the best Supervisor of Highways.

We got accustomed, a great many years ago -- between 1912 and 1916 -- to voting for Wilson and Marshall. Now we have got another team -- Von Wagner and Marshall (Elmer Von Wagner and Cecil Marshall).

That's a pretty good record -- this is the third year hand running and are we proud!

I am awfully happy and it shows that the Democrats, incidentally, can win on a warm sunshiny day.

I am perfectly delighted that you all came down tonight. Of course, I haven't had anything to do with the race -- I have only been here ten days.

However, it is a grand party and we have got to have another one next year. I am very, very proud of the fact that, taking it by and large the government in the town of Hyde Park is becoming, I think, increasingly more efficient. That is why Elmer got the vote that he did today.

People in town elections do not vote any more because of what they think on tariff or on foreign affairs or other purely national problems. They are thinking about the individuals that they are voting for and they are thinking about the best man and that is one reason why democracy in the town of Hyde Park is growing and gaining.

And so as a finale, I am going to ask Elmer to make the first speech he has made in his campaign.

HOLD FOR RELEASE

HOLD FOR RELEASE

HOLD FOR RELEASE

November 13, 1937

CAUTION: This address of the President, to be broadcast from the White House, Sunday, November 14, 1937, MUST BE HELD IN CONFIDENCE until released.

NOTE: Release to all editions of newspapers appearing on the streets NOT EARLIER than 10:30 P. M., E.S.T., November 14, 1937.

STEPHEN EARLY
Secretary to the President

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I am appealing to the people of America tonight to help in carrying out a task that is important to them and to their government.

It is a part, but an essential part, of the greater task of finding jobs for willing workers who are idle through no fault of their own; of finding more work for those who are insufficiently employed and of surveying the needs of workers and industry to see if we can find the basis of a better long-range plan of re-employment than we have now.

Enforced idleness, embracing any considerable portion of our people, in a nation of such wealth and natural opportunity, is a paradox that challenges our ingenuity. Unemployment is one of the bitter and galling problems that now afflicts man-kind. It has been with us, in a measure, since the beginning of our industrial era. It has been accentuated by the increasing complexity of business and industry, and it has been made more acute by the depression. It has made necessary the expenditure of billions of dollars for relief and for publicly created work; it has delayed the balancing of our national budget, and increased the tax burden of all our people. In addition to the problem faced by the national government our states and local governments have been sorely pressed to meet the increased load resulting from unemployment.

It is a problem of every civilized nation -- not ours alone. It has been solved in some countries by starting huge armament programs but we Americans do not want to solve it that way.

Nevertheless, as a nation we adopted the policy that no unemployed man or woman can be permitted to starve for lack of aid. That is still our policy. But the situation calls for a permanent cure and not just a temporary one.

Unemployment relief is, of course, not the permanent cure. The permanent cure lies in finding suitable jobs in industry and agriculture for all willing workers. It involves cooperative effort and planning which will lead to the absorption of this unused man-power in private industry. Such planning calls for facts which we do not now possess.

Such planning applies not only to workers but to the employers in industry because it involves trying to get rid of what we call the peaks and valleys of employment and unemployment -- trying with the help of industry to plan against producing more goods one year than people can or will consume, and cutting production drastically the following year with the resulting lay-off of hundreds of thousands of workers.

That is a long and difficult problem to find the answer to and it may take many efforts in the coming years to find the right answer. But in the meantime, we need more facts.

For several years varying estimates of the extent of unemployment have been made. Valuable as some of these estimates have been in providing us an approximation of the extent of unemployment, they have not provided us with sufficient factual data on which to base a comprehensive re-employment program. During this coming week we are going to strive to get such facts. We are going to conduct a nation-wide census of the unemployed and the partly unemployed and we are going to conduct it in the genuinely democratic American way.

This is to be a wholly voluntary census. We are going to hold the mirror up to ourselves and try to get, not only a true and honest reflection of our present unemployment conditions, but facts which will help us to plan constructively for the future.

Only in a nation whose people are alert to their own self-interest and alive to their responsibilities of citizenship, could such a voluntary plan succeed. I am confident that this great American undertaking will succeed. Every effort is being put forth to make all of our people understand and appreciate fully its significance and I am sure you will all give it your helpful aid as you have in previous efforts aimed at national improvement, and through which our people have shown their capacity for self-government.

On next Tuesday, November 16, the Post Office Department, through its far-flung and highly efficient organization, will undertake to deliver to every abode in the United States an Unemployment Report Card containing 14 simple questions.

The Report Card which the postman will leave at your door on Tuesday is a double post-card, larger than the customary card. It is addressed especially to those who are unemployed or partly unemployed, and who are able to work and are seeking work. This card contains a message to you from me carrying the assurance that if you will give me all the facts, it will help us in planning for the benefit of those who need and want work and do not now have it. This message calls upon the unemployed and everyone else in this land to help make this census complete, honest and accurate.

If all unemployed and partly unemployed persons, who are able to work and who are seeking work, will conscientiously fill out these cards and mail them just as they are, without stamp or envelope, by or before midnight November 20, our nation will have real facts upon which to base a sound re-employment program.

It is important for every unemployed person to understand that this report card is not an application for relief, nor registration for a job. This is purely and simply a fact-seeking census. When you receive this card you will note that the 14 questions are designed to give this nation a wider basis of knowledge of its unemployment conditions than it has heretofore had.

If our unemployed and partly unemployed wholeheartedly give the information sought in these 14 questions, we will know not only the extent of unemployment and partial unemployment, but we will know the geographical location of unemployment by states and communities. We will likewise be able to tell what age groups are most severely affected. But most important of all, we will know the work qualifications of the unemployed; we will know in what industries they are suited to function, and we will be equipped to determine what future industrial trends are most likely to absorb these idle workers.

I think it is necessary to emphasize that only those unemployed, or partly unemployed, who are able to work, and who are seeking work, should fill out these cards. All others may disregard them.

But I appeal to all of you who are employed today to enlist as good neighbors to those who are unemployed in your communities and who may need help in filling out their cards properly and promptly. They may need the stimulus of your cooperation, to recognize the importance of this national effort to help them.

I think this neighborly cooperation will be very helpful in dispelling from the minds of the unemployed all fear that the information sought in this census is to be used for any purpose other than helpfulness. I repeat the assurance to the unemployed that the information which you give on these report cards will in no sense be used against you, but so far as lies within my power will be employed for your own good and for the welfare of the nation.

When we have ascertained the full facts of unemployment, we can extend the voluntary and neighborly character of this effort to the task of finding the solution to the perplexing problem. Its importance justifies a national approach, free from prejudice or partisanship and warrants the cooperative endeavors of business, of labor, of agriculture, and of government.

I am confident that this nation of ours has the genius to reorder its affairs, and possesses the physical resources to make it possible for everyone, young or old, to enjoy the opportunity to work and earn. There is neither logic nor necessity for one-third of our population to have less of the needs of modern life than make for decent living.

Our national purchasing power is the soil from which comes all our prosperity. The steady flow of wages to our millions of workers is essential if the products of our industry and of our farmers are to be consumed.

Our far-sighted industrial leaders now recognize that a very substantial share of corporate earnings must be paid out in wages, or the soil from which these industries grow will soon become impoverished. Our farmers recognize that their largest customers are the workers for wages, and that farm markets cannot be maintained except through wide-spread purchasing power.

This unemployment problem is, therefore, one in which every individual and every economic group has a direct interest. It is a problem whose discussion must be removed from the field of prejudice to the field of logic. We shall find the solution only when we have the facts, and having the facts, accept our mutual responsibilities.

The inherent right to work is one of the elemental privileges of a free people. Continued failure to achieve that right and privilege by anyone who wants to work and needs work is a challenge to our civilization and to our security. Endowed, as our nation is, with abundant physical resources, and inspired as it should be with the high purpose to make those resources and opportunities available for the enjoyment of all, we approach this problem of re-employment with the real hope of finding a better answer than we have now.

The Unemployment Census, as a sensible first step to a constructive re-employment program ought to be a successful bit of national team-work from which will come again that feeling of national solidarity which is the strength and the glory of the American people.

SPEECH OF THE PRESIDENT
CHRISTMAS TREE
LAFAYETTE SQUARE
DECEMBER 24, 1937

Last night before I went to sleep I chanced to read in an evening paper a story by a columnist which appealed to me so much as a Christmas sermon that this afternoon, on the occasion of lighting the National Christmas Tree in Lafayette Square in front of the White House, I am going to read to you from it. Here is his parable: -

"We were sitting in a high room above the chapel, and although it was Christmas Eve, my good friend the dominie seemed curiously troubled. And that was strange, for he was a man extremely sensitive to the festivities of his faith.

"The joys and sorrows of Jesus were not to him events of a remote past but more current and living happenings than the headlines in the newspapers. At Christmas he seems actually to hear the voice of the herald angels.

"My friend is an old man, and I have known him for many years, but this was the first time the Nativity had failed to rouse him to an ecstasy. He admitted that something was wrong. 'Tomorrow,' he said, 'I must go down into that chapel and preach a Christmas sermon. And I must speak of peace and good will toward men. I know you think of me as a man too cloistered to be of any use to my community. And I know that our world is one of war and hate and enmity.

"And you, my young friend, and others keep insisting that before there can be brotherhood there must be the bashing of heads. You are all for good will to men, but you want to note very many exceptions. And I am still hoping and praying that in the great love of God the final seal of interdiction must not be put on even one. You may laugh at me, but right now I am worrying about how Christmas came to Judas Iscariot.'

"It is the habit of my friend when he is troubled by doubts to reach for the Book, and he did so now. He smiled and said, 'Will you assist me in a little experiment?'

"I will close my eyes and you hold out the Bible to me. I will open it at random and run my fingers down a page. You read me the text which I blindly select.'

"I did as he told me, and he happened on the twenty-sixth chapter of St. Matthew and the twenty-fifth verse. I felt sorry for him, for this was no part of the story of the birth of Christ but instead an account of the great betrayal.

"Read what it says,' commanded the dominie. And I read, 'Then Judas, which betrayed him, answered and said, 'Master, is it I?' He said unto him, 'Thou hast said.'

"My friend frowned, but then he looked at me in triumph. 'Now I remember. My hand is not as steady as it used to be. You should have taken the lower part of my finger and not the top. Read the twenty-seventh verse. It is not an eighth of an inch away. Read what it says.'

ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT
at the 50th Anniversary of the
Holland Society of New York
Waldorf-Astoria Hotel, New York City
(Telephoned from the Oval Room Study at the White House)
January 17, 1935, 8.45 P. M.

My friends and associates of The Holland Society of New York:

Presidential plans for future engagements are, I find to my sorrow, more susceptible to change than the plans of any private citizen. I had counted for many months on being with all of you tonight on the occasion of the Fiftieth Anniversary of the Holland Society. At least I take some comfort in the fact that it required a reception in the White House to the Judiciary of the United States to keep me away from your dinner.

I need not tell you of my long interest in and association with the Holland Society. I feel a just pride in what the Society has stood for as the exponent and recorder of the great contribution made, through three hundred years, by men and women of Netherland descent in the building of the United States.

Our early forebears brought from the Netherlands a quality of endurance against great odds -- a quality of quiet determination to conquer obstacles of nature and obstacles of man. That is why for many years I have been so deeply

interested in the preservation of the records and monuments left in New York City and the Hudson River Valley by the Dutch pioneers. The influence of New Netherland on the whole Colonial period of our history, which culminated in the War for Independence, has not as yet been fully recognized. It was an influence which made itself felt in all of the other twelve Colonies, and it is an influence which manifests itself today in almost every part of our Union of States.

To all of you I send my greetings. We honor those men and women of early days who made so much out of such small beginnings. Let us who treasure their memories not fall short of the measure of their deeds.

ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT
to the
Boy Scouts
February 8, 1935

President Head, Members of the Boy Scouts:

The year 1935 marks the Twenty-fifth Birthday celebration of the Boy Scouts of America. During these years the value of our organization in building character and in training for citizenship has made itself a vital factor in the life of America. That is why not only the Boy Scouts of today, but the millions of men and boys who have graduated through Scouting, will be joined by millions of other Americans in the proper marking and celebration of our Anniversary.

As I review the record of these twenty-five years of Scouting in America, I am impressed with the extent of the volunteer service we have rendered. We as a Nation are proud of the fact that in addition to our splendid system of education and of other services made available through funds secured by taxation, there are in each community so many well organized and efficiently administered agencies which supplement the work of government and make available additional opportunities which strengthen the best objectives of the home, the church and the school.

Every Scout seeks to do a good turn daily -- every

Troop seeks to accomplish some community benefit; and occasionally, as last year, Scouts everywhere unite to do a good turn nationally. A year ago, as your Honorary President, I started the national Scout effort to collect household furnishings and clothing and other supplies for those in need; and the results were truly amazing. Hundreds of thousands of families were helped by the Boy Scouts.

The program for this year, embracing as it does over one million boys, lasts throughout the year. In May there will be a gathering of the Leaders of Scouting at the Twenty-fifth Annual Meeting of the National Council.

But the outstanding event will be America's first National Jamboree, to be held here in the City of Washington from August twenty-first to August thirtieth. I hope to attend it in person. Since I extended the invitation a year ago, definite plans have crystallized. With the cooperation of various officials here in Washington a fine camp site has been made available and will be all ready to receive the thirty thousand boys when the meeting starts. I am glad to know that the selection of these boys is being made on the basis of merit and, furthermore, that in many cases these boys will come to Washington at the expense of the Troop and not merely because the boy's economic situation in life is such as to make it possible for his parents to send him.

Thirty thousand Scouts brought together under such conditions will mean the most thoroughly representative group of American boys ever mobilized for a purpose of this character.

We hope, too, that other countries will send at least small delegations to meet with us on this occasion. Because Scouting is now in active operation in almost every civilized nation of the world, this will give us a splendid opportunity to enlarge our basis of mutual respect, of understanding and of friendship among the people of the world regardless of race or creed.

In a moment Dr. West is going to lead the Scouts in thousands of halls and other meeting places in every state in the Union in repeating the Scout Oath and Law. I hope that the people who are listening to my voice will give careful heed to this Scout Oath. It is the basis of good citizenship; it is the basis of good government; it is the basis of orderly progress for our country in the years to come.

REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT
IN GREETING REAR ADMIRAL RICHARD E. BYRD
AND HIS ANTARCTIC CO-EXPLORERS
UPON THEIR RETURN TO THE UNITED STATES
May 10, 1935

I welcome you and your comrades on your return to the United States.

I do this with a sense of high privilege and for two very good reasons.

The first is because of the close association and deep friendship which has existed between you and me for many long years.

The second is because once more you have completed a successful expedition for the gain of human knowledge and the furtherance of the progress of civilization.

It is no small thing to have filled in another large portion of the map of the world which hitherto had remained a blank. It is an equally great achievement to have added valuable information to at least twenty-two separate sciences.

I have been especially interested in the meteorological data obtained by you and your comrades in that Antarctic Continent in which storms and weather changes originate and make themselves later felt in many largely inhabited areas.

To have carried these ship comrades to a dangerous outpost, to have developed your exploratory and scientific work through many months, under the most trying conditions, and to have brought them all safely home to their country and to their families, is an achievement of which the whole Nation is proud.

And so I salute you and your comrades and extend to all of you, in behalf of the American people, a hearty welcome home.

MESSAGE OF GREETING BY THE PRESIDENT
OVER THE TELEPHONE TO THE CALIFORNIA
PACIFIC INTERNATIONAL EXPOSITION
AT SAN DIEGO
May 29, 1935

It is significant and fitting that a great enterprise should at this time be dedicated to future generations. The decision of the people of San Diego thus to dedicate the California Pacific International Exposition is, I believe, worthy of the courage and confidence with which our people now look to the future. No one can deny that we have passed through troubled years. No one can fail to feel the inspiration of your high purpose. I wish you great success.

I shall always remember my visit with Vice President Marshall to the Pan-Pacific Exposition in 1916. I sincerely hope that later in the year I can visit this new Exposition.

Your Exposition is an international one. You have been prepared to share your aspirations with the peoples of other nations. They have been quick to respond and many of them are actively participating in your efforts.

So much of your tradition in southern California is closely associated with Latin America that I am sure you must have noted with sympathy the increased cordiality of our relations with our sister Republics. Recently it has

been the sincere endeavor of the United States to remove causes of international friction and misunderstanding and to reveal our country as prepared to maintain its relations with the other nations of the Americas on a basis of entire equality and in terms of complete friendship. Surely such principles are the hope of our common future on this hemisphere.

The architecture of the Exposition traces the course of human progress in your part of the country. The design of the Federal Building is based on the genius of a great race which long ago developed an advanced civilization in the regions to the south of you. The influence of the later Spanish and Mexican traditions is apparent in different buildings. Other features portray modern social, economic and scientific developments.

What is before you represents progress, steps which have been taken and which have led us to this very moment in which we pause to look forward. I think that we may well have confidence in our prospects. Government is being animated more and more by a desire for the well-being of the people as a whole. A new public conscience is demanding that those engaged in private enterprise in turn be guided by conduct based on good ethics and good morals as well as on thoughts of profit.

The American people are becoming increasingly conscious of their obligations to the citizens of tomorrow.

Rightly desiring to direct our thoughts to the future, you have endeavored and have succeeded in giving to the very act of opening the Exposition a symbol of our expectations of future generations. Two small children, a boy and a girl, unknown to you and to me, are stationed somewhere near you. I wish I could see them -- perhaps some day I shall -- but I now delegate to them, on behalf of the present younger generation and of the unknown generations to come, the honor of throwing the switches that will illuminate the grounds and open the California Pacific International Exposition.

ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT
TO THE GRADUATING CLASS OF THE
UNITED STATES MILITARY ACADEMY
WEST POINT, NEW YORK
June 12, 1935

Mr. Secretary, General MacArthur, General Connor,
Gentlemen of the Class of 1935:

As one who was born and reared within a few miles
of West Point, I have always been familiar with the long
and glorious record of the United States Military Academy;
and I have thought of the officers and cadets stationed
here as my friends and neighbors.

This is peculiarly your day, nobody else's, not
even the President's. It is your day.

I wish I could have been here to attend in per-
son the brilliant ceremonies, reviews and the entertain-
ments of the past few days. I have attended some of them
in by-gone years.

At this moment we come to the culmination -- an
event which marks not only the close of four years of pre-
paration for a great career but also the induction into
the Army of the United States of its annual infusion of
new blood whereby our military leadership is kept young,
forward-looking and virile.

This Academy, with its sister school of Annapolis, (are) is the personification of democracy in the equality of opportunity (they) that such schools afford, uninfluenced by prior social position or economic standing. (They) These schools nurture patriotism and devotion to country. They teach that honor, integrity and the faithful performance of duty are to be valued above all personal advantage or advancement. Their success is written in the long and brilliant record of service which their graduates have rendered to the Nation. It is true that in your curriculum you have been studying a profession -- one in which the need of specialization has greatly increased in recent years. But (this) that is true of (many) every other profession(s). The development of modern civilization calls, of necessity, for specialization.

Yet, with specialization it is essential that those who enter upon a profession, civilian or military, must eternally keep before their eyes the practical relationship of their own profession to the rights, the hopes and the needs of the whole body of citizens who make up the Nation. One of the most difficult tasks of government today is to avoid the aggrandizement of any

one group and to keep the main objective of the general good clear and unimpaired.

The captain of a company will fail if in thinking only of his own company he forgets the relationship of his company to the company on his right and the company on his left -- the relationship of his company to the regiment as a whole. The successful commander of an army must give consideration to all of the units which make up his army and in addition must of necessity remember the existence, the condition and the ultimate strength of his reserves and of the civilian population which is serving the same cause behind the lines.

A sense of proportion is essential to the effective attainment of any great objective. I shall always remember a day in the Summer of 1918 when I visited the headquarters of General Foch, the Commander-in-Chief of the Allied and Associated Armies. With a single aide I motored (from) out of Paris on a road that had no markers and we came to a delightful old chateau far behind the lines and lying within its little walled park in the most peaceful, bucolic (surroundings) conditions you can imagine. One sentry at the gate. Within the

park a few chickens and a couple of cows. At the door, nobody. That was headquarters of all the armies in France. In answer to our ring, the door was opened by a very young looking captain and in a moment we found ourselves in the presence of General Foch, who was sitting in a comfortable chair in a large drawing room, reading a French novel. (Laughter) I spent over an hour with the General and I discovered that his entire staff consisted of half a dozen officers and perhaps a dozen (privates) enlisted men.

While I was there a young (British dispatch rider) lieutenant from British headquarters came in bearing the daily report from Marshal Haig. That report was written in longhand on one side of a sheet of note paper. It said in effect: "My dear General: No advances or retirements of major importance today. Reserves increased 1500 men since yesterday. They now total 275,000. Very sincerely yours, Haig."

(A few) About ten minutes later (a similar note was brought by an aide of General Pershing) one of our own lieutenants came in from General Pershing's headquarters bearing a single note written on one page making essentially a similar report to General Foch.

I marveled at the simplicity of it all (of the General's headquarters), at the simplicity of his headquarters and at the apparent lack of detail which he received from the generals in command of the various armies. Foch said to me, "If I concerned myself with details, I could not win the war. I can consider only major advances or major retirements. The knowledge of movements of two or three kilometers here or there would confuse me by diverting my attention from the great objective. Only major results and major strategy concern the major objectives of a commander-in-chief. Most especially am I concerned with the reserve power of men, of guns, of ammunition and of supplies, and with that I have to give constant and necessary consideration to (that includes of necessity consideration of) what the people of France, the people of England and the people of the United States are doing and can do to keep the Allied Armies in a position to make victory a certainty."

I think that little story has a good deal of application to anybody who is in a position of command, great or small. You who are about to become officers of the highly efficient regular army of the United States will

recognize that you are an integral part not only of that Army but also of the citizenship of the United States. As a Nation, we have been very fortunate in a geographic isolation which in itself has partially protected our boundless resources. To that happy circumstance has been added the priceless blessing of friendship with our near neighbors.

It is in full appreciation of (our) this advantageous position and in full appreciation of our own devotion to the cause of peace that our Nation's defensive system has always reflected the single purpose that (that name) those words, "defensive system", implies. We maintain an army to promote tranquillity and to secure us from aggression, but it is so created and so modest in proportion to the size of the population of the Nation as to furnish proof that no threat or menace to the rights of others is even remotely (intended) considered. On some occasions in our history we have reduced our army to a level unjustified by a due regard (to) for our own safety. It was in the conviction that we had (again) once more drifted too far in that direction that I have recently approved Acts of the Congress to accomplish a partial

restoration of the Army's enlisted strength and increasing the enrollment of cadets in the United States Military Academy. (Applause)

The greatest need of the world today is the assurance of permanent peace -- an assurance based on mutual understanding and mutual regard. During your careers you will go to many stations at home and abroad, enjoying unusual opportunities to mingle with our people (own) and with other people, to learn their points of view and to appreciate their aspirations. If you strive at all times to promote friendship and to discourage suspicion, to teach respect for the rights of others and to decry aggression, to oppose intolerance with a spirit of mutual helpfulness -- then indeed your services will be of full value to your Government and a source of satisfaction to yourselves. A sympathetic understanding of fellow men has ever been the hallmark of (the) a leader. Last, but by no means least, you will be worthy of the illustrious traditions of West Point.

And so, gentlemen, personally, I extend to each and every one of you who graduate today my congratulations and best wishes. As Commander-in-Chief of the Army (of the United States) I tell you that I am proud of you and wish you Godspeed.

INFORMAL REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT TO
THE REGIONAL RESETTLEMENT DIRECTORS.

June 20, 1935.

The work you are doing lies particularly close to my heart. I go back a good many years to the time, in Albany, when we undertook what, so far as I know, was the first land-use survey. It related, in part, to soil but mostly to human beings and there, with the cooperation of the Cornell Agricultural College, we started our first land-use survey. I became intensely interested in it. Since that time, of course, a good many states have been working, both on the agricultural and human end of it. In the last two years we have put the Federal Government very actively into the major objectives that we all seek.

I have been trying to interest people in the cities in our work. For the first time, I think, we have begun to cause people in the cities to realize that their own prosperity depends, in a very large part, on the prosperity of people who live and work outside of cities. All of the small communities of the country understand it. We want the people in the big cities as well to understand. It is a national problem that relates, in the long run, just as much to people who live in cities as it does to people who live on farms.

The practical end of the work applies to the rural population and, of course, to those people in cities who want to go either back to the farms or farming, or else to those who want to try out something new and get away from city life.

The Resettlement Administration has begun a work in which we all believe. You who are here today are entrusted with the duty of bringing not only new hope but a new program into the lives of a great many thousands of families. Their economic position has been weakened by years of depression and by two kinds of attempts on their part, either to make a living on land that was unsuitable to begin with -- where they ought never to have been -- or on land that has been so reduced in fertility, either through erosion or through improper cropping, that it is impossible for them to make a living.

One thing that fascinates me about your work is that no two cases are the same. Every single operation you conduct has to be viewed from the point of view of that case alone. For instance, some small financial help will be enough to tide over and put on their feet a great many families that have been hit by the depression. In other cases, families will have to be given an opportunity to move off the land they are on and will have to be provided with better land. In any of these cases, we have to establish

a better relationship between people and the sources of their living.

The benefits expected from this work call for the taking and keeping of these families off the relief rolls. The money we are using comes within the objective set by the Congress which is to put three and a half million people to work at a cost of four billion dollars.

Secondly, as an objective and as a benefit we seek, we shall devote our land resources to their highest uses; not only for this generation but for future generations. We approach this genuine conservation policy with the future in mind.

You will be expected to treat these problems humanly and yet, at the same time, with the highest degree of efficiency that the American Government has ever seen. That is quite a job. Determining the best use for land is a problem in itself. Moving people is difficult; yet they are always glad to move when it is clear that they and their families will receive a better chance as a result of the moving.

Under this appropriation act, we are expected to take care of as many families on relief as we possibly can. You will be doing this in two ways -- giving them work on community projects and providing funds for rehabilitation and resettlement. In this, you will center your

attention primarily on those actually on the relief rolls.

On the average, we cannot spend more than eleven hundred and forty-three dollars for each family taken care of. That makes a problem in management. It will challenge your ingenuity and require the most careful administration.

I know you won't mind my saying what I said to the Relief Administrators of the forty-eight States the other day. We cannot, must not and will not let politics enter into this work. It makes no difference what a family in need of rural resettlement, in one form or another, calls itself. The fact is that, if the need exists, you must help out and you have my authority -- as I told the Works Progress Administrators the other day -- to disregard partisan political pressure in any case where an attempt is made to exert it. You can tell them from me that you are not allowed to do it and that you are not going to do it.

You are aware, as I am, that the country regions are the great reservoir from which much of our future population will come. It is our duty to see to it that this future population comes out of homes where they have been able to live and grow under proper conditions, according to adequate, American standards. That is the task with

which you are entrusted. It is a fascinating job. It is something that will last through this coming year under this particular appropriation. It is something the results of which will last for many generations to come. That is why your responsibility is much more than a one-year responsibility.

In the course of the coming year, I hope to be able to get around the country a bit to visit and see with my own eyes what you have accomplished. I shall look forward to seeing you during the year. Thank you.

INFORMAL REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT TO THE
STATE DIRECTORS OF THE FEDERAL EMERGENCY
PUBLIC WORKS ADMINISTRATION, PRESENTED BY
SECRETARY ICKES AND COLONEL HORATIO B.
HACKETT, ASSISTANT ADMINISTRATOR OF PUBLIC
WORKS.

July 9, 1935

I have seen a number of the other State representatives, but not P.W.A. Directors up to this time and I am awfully glad you came here for this conference. You know, of course, that we have spent a great deal of money during the past two years, but we find now not only that there are additional funds at our disposal but also that the need of permanent work all over the United States is not yet ended. We find that the deeper we go into it, the more opportunities we have to do constructive work in almost every community in the country.

I told Secretary Ickes by all means to bring you here so that I might have the personal pleasure of extending my greetings to you and, at the same time, to extend to you my thanks and compliments for the very splendid work you have been doing.

You have been pioneers in what is really a new field. It is not merely construction, it is also the co-ordination of construction to the needs of various parts of the country. I know the obstacles you have had to face, the trying situations you have had to contend with.

As we view that public works program, I think we can take a pardonable pride in what we have done. We have given to the country useful projects of an enduring value. There is no question about that. You know the type of these projects better than anybody else and I hope personally you will make every effort within your own States to show the people the usefulness and the enduring qualities of the work done.

We are faced by a kind of false information in regard to the expenditure of money. The actual listing of the projects we have worked on and completed or are at work on today -- the mere telling to the people what we have accomplished -- will dispel the false information that has been given out in many cases. We are going to repay the money we have spent many times over. We have increased the capital assets of the Nation.

The way in which you good people carried on this work is a source of great gratification. One thing we know. It is that we have kept the public works projects free from partisan politics. We have lived up to that obligation, undertaken two years ago, and we believe the money has been wisely, efficiently and honestly expended. In other words, the P.W.A. has set up a standard and an example for integrity in administration and disinterested public service.

You are now an important part of an even greater effort -- one to be made during the next year which will provide quick employment so that we can attain, if possible, the goal we have set within this year 1935. Before the year is ended, we will end the dole we have been paying to employable persons during the last two years. In other words, we must give useful work to three and one-half million people and I believe we are going to do it.

In order to do it, of course, we are faced by a problem of arithmetic which is comparatively simple. We have four billion dollars and three and one-half million people to put to work with it. That means we have to average things up. It means that we have on the average about \$1140 per man year. That has to include the cost of the material, so that the four billion dollars includes not only the amount we pay the men but also the cost of the material. It is a perfectly simple arithmetical problem -- we have to work out an average that will come within the sum of money divided by the number of people we have to put to work.

As you know, the P.W.A. grant has been changed, having been increased from 30% of the cost of labor and material involved in the project to 45% of the total cost. This means that the way is open for cities and towns and

other municipal organizations to join with the Federal Government in getting these workers off the relief rolls. There is quite an incentive -- being able to make a grant of 45% of the project.

Local public bodies willing to put up their share of 55% of the total cost of the project must, of course, be given first consideration. Some are going to try to prove to you that they cannot finance their share of the costs and it is up to you to find whether that proof is adequate. It is only human to try to get more than 45%.

Last week I approved and issued a statement that defines very clearly, I think, what shall be regarded as Public Works Administration projects and what shall be regarded as projects coming within the jurisdiction of the Works Progress Administration. The one point in that connection which I would like to mention is that if an applicant is entitled to a grant, or a loan and grant, and falls within the P.W.A. category as defined in that statement, the application is to be filed with the Public Works Administration here in Washington.

With the Federal grant of 45% of the total cost and money to be had from the P.W.A. revolving fund at 4% and, in the bond markets, at even lower rates for good security, there is no reason why there should not be a large volume

of useful construction under this program.

The importance of cooperative effort on the part of all these agencies of the Government is something we have to keep before us all the time. Besides yourselves, there are representatives of the National Emergency Council and the Works Progress Administration in each of the States. And, so I am asking you to remember that all three of you, the P.W.A. Directors, the National Emergency Council and Works Progress Administration men, are representatives of the Federal Government and the responsibility for the success of the program in each State, at least in the first instance, is on these three representatives in each State.

While it is a Federal program and the Federal Government is ultimately responsible, the whole effort, of course, will depend in a very large measure upon close co-operation with the local authorities everywhere -- Governors, Mayors, County officials and other municipal agents.

Remember that speed is of the essence. We want the work done but we want it done now. We don't want it to run over into 1937 and 1938. This money was given to us by the Congress to spend during the fiscal year.

I am glad to have had this opportunity of seeing you and I know that you have important discussions ahead that you are eager to conclude so you can get back to your States. I am very sure that the fine spirit the P.W.A. has

shown in the past and the very great success it has had in carrying out what it had undertaken -- with efficiency and very definitely with honesty -- is going to continue throughout the coming year.

INFORMAL EXTEMPORANEOUS REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT,
IN RESPONSE TO STATEMENTS BY DR. GUILLERMO PATTERSON,
CUBAN AMBASSADOR, AND SENOR JOSE MANUEL CASANOVA,
PRESIDENT OF THE SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC UNION OF CUBA.

August 12, 1935

I am not only gratified but very much touched at your coming here. It is a splendid thing for you to do, and it proves that something that we always wanted has worked out.

One has an ideal and wants to put it into effect. We tried two and a half years ago to establish a principle -- a principle that two nations, side by side, ought to be good neighbors. The next thing we did was to try to work out some practical demonstration of the value of the policy of the good neighbor.

People said a trade agreement would not accomplish anything; that a trade agreement would not work, but we put it through. The proof of the pudding is in the eating.

What pleases me particularly is that the economic revival in Cuba has come so quickly, even more quickly than we hoped when the trade agreement was signed. From all I hear from friends in Cuba and from you, the improvement in economic conditions is not merely at the top, but it extends down -- wages are better and you have a better purchasing power. It is a very, very fine thing.

Some day I am not only coming to Havana, but I am going into the interior of the country. I used to know it in the old days, twenty years ago.

RADIO ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT
FROM THE WHITE HOUSE TO THE
BOY SCOUTS OF AMERICA

August 21, 1935

For more than a year I had been looking forward to taking part in a great National Scout Jamboree to be held in Washington. The best laid plans sometimes go awry. A splendid program and a wonderful camp had been prepared for the reception of thirty thousand Boy Scouts and Scouters in the National Capital. You were coming here from every point of the compass, and, in addition to the American Scouts, our brother Scouts from twenty-seven other nations had accepted invitations to send delegations.

But, alas, a rather serious epidemic of Infantile Paralysis arose in the vicinity of Washington and, on August eighth, the United States Public Health Service and the Health Officers of the District and the nearby States concluded that to hold the Jamboree would be a hazard. With great reluctance, therefore, we had to call it off.

But for this unfortunate happening I would have reviewed this day the thousands of Scouts lined up the length of Constitution Avenue, and later we would all have had a party on the White House lawn. I want you, in your own home towns, to know how sorry I am that I cannot be with you myself. I am in spirit with each and every one of your gatherings tonight.

You boys, old and young, in every part of this broad land -- present Scouts and former Scouts -- your numbers running into the millions -- constitute a very real part of our American citizenship. We are bound together in a democracy operating under a Constitution whose purpose was and is "to form a more perfect Union, establish Justice, insure domestic Tranquility, provide for the common defence, promote the general Welfare, and secure the Blessings of Liberty to ourselves and our Posterity."

The success of that Constitution is dependent on the attitude of mind and the degree of the spirit of unselfish cooperation that can be developed in individuals. Scouting is essentially and clearly a program for the development of that unselfish, cooperative attitude of mind. Scouting revolves around, not the theory of service to others, but the habit of service to others. Scouting makes the individual boy conscious of his obligation to his Patrol, to his Troop, to his community, to his State and to his Nation.

Even before you become of voting age, you actually have a part in civic affairs and you bear responsibilities in your home communities. We older citizens are very proud of the many contributions that individual Scouts and Scout organizations have made to the relief of suffering, to the maintenance of good order and good health, and to the furtherance of good citizenship and good government.

You who are active Scouts are, in addition, learning many useful things -- knowledge which will stay with you all your lives. You are having opportunities to fall in love with and understand the great outdoors. Do not ever fall out with nature and her wide-open breathing spaces. Love them. They will sustain and strengthen you in later years when confining circumstances of life may tend to narrow the spirit or soul that is in you.

I do not have to tell you to throw yourselves, with all the enthusiasm and the energy that you have, into your Scout work, into the programs of your Patrols and Troops and Councils. But I do want to express to you the very deep hope that when you grow older and get out into the stream of life, you will retain that same enthusiasm and energy and that you will apply it through every day and every year of your lives. The Scout motto BE PREPARED applies just as much to the wider service which is your opportunity when your full civic responsibilities are attained.

Just as you are individually a necessary part of your Patrol or your Troop today, so will you become necessary parts of the citizenship of your communities. I do not have to remind you that one individual who lags behind slows up the whole Troop. In the Navy we have an old saying -- that the speed of a Fleet is no greater than the speed of the slowest ship. When you go out into life you will come to

understand that the individual in your community who always says "I can't" or "I won't" -- the individual who by inaction or opposition slows up honest, practical, far-seeing community effort, is the fellow who is holding back civilization and holding back the objectives of the Constitution of the United States.

We need more Scouts -- the more the better -- for the record shows that, taking it by and large, boys trained as Scouts make good citizens.

I hope a Jamboree, in place of the one we missed this year, will be planned for some time in the future. In the meantime, I send you my warm greetings, personally, and as the Honorary President of the Boy Scouts of America. Good luck to you and carry on!

INFORMAL REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT BY TELEPHONE
TO GREET THE PEOPLE OF SAINTE GENEVIEVE, MISSOURI,
AS THEY CELEBRATE "NATION'S NIGHT" AS A FEATURE
OF SAINTE GENEVIEVE'S BI-CENTENNIAL CELEBRATION.

August 22, 1935

The history of the town of Sainte Genevieve eloquently testifies to the fortitude of those pioneers who built their homes on the western bank of the Mississippi and wrested minerals from the hills, furs from the forest, and a plentiful harvest from the plain; who merged their varied nationalities in a mighty effort to carve an American nation out of the Western wilderness.

We admire that Christian courage which refused to be daunted by Indian depredations and massacres, by a gradual change in the course of the Mississippi threatening the destruction of the settlement, or by the disastrous flood of 1785. In due course, through the rugged efforts of your predecessors, the hostile Indians were pacified; and the restless Mississippi, far from annihilating the community, provoked a providential removal of the church and other buildings to a better site where the village could expand and flourish.

These triumphs over affliction are characteristic of the spirit of our early Americans. Although the problems which confront us today are of a different sort, I am confident that you have not lost the stalwart qualities of

frontier days.

It is with a full appreciation of your past that, on this occasion of your Bi-Centennial Celebration, I extend to you my hearty wishes for a happy and prosperous future.

RADIO ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT TO THE YOUNG
DEMOCRATIC CLUBS OF AMERICA, FROM THE
DIPLOMATIC RECEPTION ROOM OF THE WHITE HOUSE

August 24, 1935

I am deeply sorry that I have had to forego the opportunity of accompanying my old friend, Senator Ryan Duffy, to Milwaukee to be with you, as I had planned, tonight. But the closing days of a far-reaching and memorable session of the Congress of the United States keep me here in Washington.

You doubtless know everything that I am going to say to you -- because starting as early as last Monday certain special writers of a few papers have given you a complete outline of my remarks. I have been interested and somewhat amused by these clairvoyants who put on the front page many days ago this speech, which, because of pressure of time, I could only think out and dictate this very morning.

Whatever his party affiliations may be, the President of the United States, in addressing the youth of the country -- even when speaking to the younger citizens of his own party -- should speak as President of the whole people. It is true that the Presidency carries with it, for the time being, the leadership of a political party as well. But the Presidency carries with it a far higher

obligation than this -- the duty of analyzing and setting forth national needs and ideals which transcend and cut across all lines of party affiliation. Therefore, what I am about to say to you, members of the Young Democratic Clubs, is precisely -- word for word -- what I would say were I addressing a convention of the youth of the Republican Party.

A man of my generation comes to the councils of the younger warriors in a very different spirit from that in which the older men addressed the youth of my time. Party or professional leaders who talked to us twenty-five or thirty years ago almost inevitably spoke in a mood of achievement and of exultation. They addressed us with the air of those who had won the secret of success for themselves and of permanence of achievement for their country for all generations to come. They assumed that there was a guarantee of final accomplishment for the people of this country and that the grim spectre of insecurity and want among the great masses would never haunt this land of plenty as it had widely visited other portions of the world. And so the elders of that day used to tell us, in effect, that the job of youth was merely to copy them and thereby to preserve the great things they had won for us.

I have no desire to underestimate the achievements of the past. We have no right to speak slightly of the

heritage, spiritual and material, that comes down to us. There are lessons that it teaches that we abandon only at our own peril. "Hold fast to that which is permanently true," is still a counsel of wisdom.

While my elders were talking to me about the perfection of America, I did not know then of the lack of opportunity, the lack of education, the lack of many of the essential needs of civilization; that all these existed among millions of our people who lived not alone in the slums of the great cities and in the forgotten corners of rural America -- existed even under the very noses of those who had the advantages and the power of Government of those days.

I say from my heart that no man of my generation has any business to address youth unless he comes to that task not in a spirit of exultation, but in a spirit of humility. I cannot expect you of a newer generation to believe me, of an older generation, if I do not frankly acknowledge that had the generation that brought you into the world been wiser and more provident and more unselfish, you would have been saved from needless difficult problems and needless pain and suffering. We may not have failed you in good intentions but we have certainly not been adequate in results. Your task, therefore, is not only to maintain the best in your heritage, but to labor to

lift from the shoulders of the American people some of the burdens that the mistakes of a past generation have placed there.

There was a time when the formula for success was the simple admonition to have a stout heart and willing hands. A great, new country lay open. When life became hard in one place it was necessary only to move on to another. But circumstances have changed all that. Today we can no longer escape into virgin territory: we must master our environment. The youth of this generation finds that the old frontier is occupied, but that science and invention and economic evolution have opened up a new frontier -- one not based on geography but on the resourcefulness of men and women applied to the old frontier.

The cruel suffering of the recent depression has taught us unforgettable lessons. We have been compelled by stark necessity to unlearn the too comfortable superstition that the American soil was mystically blessed with every kind of immunity to grave economic maladjustments, and that the American spirit of individualism -- all alone and unhelped by the cooperative efforts of Government -- could withstand and repel every form of economic disarrangement or crisis. The severity of the recent depression, toward which we had been heading for a whole generation,

has taught us that no economic or social class in the community is so richly endowed and so independent of the general community that it can safeguard its own security, let alone assure security for the general community.

The very objectives of young people have changed. In the older days a great financial fortune was too often the goal. To rule through wealth, or through the power of wealth, fired our imagination. This was the dream of the golden ladder -- each individual for himself.

It is my firm belief that the newer generation of America has a different dream. You place emphasis on sufficiency of life, rather than on a plethora of riches. You think of the security for yourself and your family that will give you good health, good food, good education, good working conditions, and the opportunity for normal recreation and occasional travel. Your advancement, you hope, is along a broad highway on which thousands of your fellow men and women are advancing with you.

You and I know that this modern economic world of ours is governed by rules and regulations vastly more complex than those laid down in the days of Adam Smith or John Stuart Mill. They faced simpler mechanical processes and social needs. It is worth remembering, for example, that the business corporation, as we know it, did not exist in the days of Washington and Hamilton and Jefferson.

Private businesses then were conducted solely by individuals or by partnerships in which every member was immediately and wholly responsible for success or failure. Facts are relentless. We must adjust our ideas to the facts of today.

Our concepts of the regulation of money and credit and industrial competition, of the relation of employer and employee created for the old civilization, are being modified to save our economic structure from confusion, destruction and paralysis. The rules that governed the relationship between an employer and employee in the blacksmith's shop in the days of Washington cannot, of necessity, govern the relationship between the fifty thousand employees of a great corporation and the infinitely complex and diffused ownership of that corporation. If fifty thousand employees spoke with fifty thousand voices, there would be a modern Tower of Babel. That is why we insist on their right to choose their representatives to bargain collectively in their behalf with their employer. In the case of the employees, every individual employee will know in his daily work whether he is adequately represented or not. In the case of the hundreds of thousands of stockholders in the present day ownership of great corporations, however, their knowledge of the success of the management is based too often solely on a financial balance

sheet. Things may go wrong in the management without their being aware of it for a year, or for many years to come. Without their day to day knowledge they may be exploited and their investments jeopardized. Therefore, we have come to the recognition of the need of simple but adequate public protection for the rights of the investing public.

A rudimentary concept of credit control appropriate for financing the economic life of a nation of 3,000,000 people can hardly be urged as a means of directing and protecting the welfare of our Twentieth Century industrialism. The simple banking rules of Hamilton's day, when all the transactions of a fair-sized bank could be kept in the neat penmanship of a clerk in one large ledger, fail to protect the millions of individual depositors of a great modern banking institution. And so it goes through all the range of economic life. Aggressive enterprise and shrewd invention have been at work on our economic machine. Our rules of conduct for the operation of that machine must be subjected to the same constant development.

And so in our social life. Forty years ago, slum conditions in our great cities were much worse than today. Living conditions on farms and working conditions in mines and factories were primitive. But they were taken for granted. Few people considered that the Government had

responsibility for sanitation, for safety devices, for preventing child labor and night work for women. In 1911, twenty-four years ago, when I was first a member of the New York State Legislature, a number of the younger members of the Legislature worked against these old conditions and called for laws governing factory inspection, for workmen's compensation and for the limitation of work for women and children to fifty-four hours, with one day's rest in seven. Those of us who joined in this movement in the Legislature were called reformers, socialists, and wild men. We were opposed by many of the same organizations and the same individuals who are now crying aloud about the socialism involved in social security legislation, in bank deposit insurance, in farm credit, in the saving of homes, in the protection of investors and the regulation of public utilities. The reforms, however, for which we were condemned twenty-four years ago are taken today as a matter of course. And so, I believe, will be regarded the reforms that now cause such concern to the reactionaries of 1935. We come to an understanding of these new ways of protecting people because our knowledge enlarges and our capacity for organized action increases. People have learned that they can carry their burdens effectively only by cooperation. We have found out how to conquer the ravages of diseases that years ago were regarded

as unavoidable and inevitable. We must learn that many other social ills can be cured.

Let me emphasize that serious as have been the errors of unrestrained individualism, I do not believe in abandoning the system of individual enterprise. The freedom and opportunity that have characterized American development in the past can be maintained if we recognize the fact that the individual system of our day calls for the collaboration of all of us to provide, at the least, security for all of us. Those words "freedom" and "opportunity" do not mean a license to climb upwards by pushing other people down.

Any paternalistic system which tries to provide for security for everyone from above only calls for an impossible task and a regimentation utterly uncongenial to the spirit of our people. But Government cooperation to help make the system of free enterprise work, to provide that minimum security without which the competitive system cannot function, to restrain the kind of individual action which in the past has been harmful to the community -- that kind of governmental cooperation is entirely consistent with the best tradition of America.

Just as the evolution of economic and social life has shown the need for new methods and practices, so has the new political life developed the need for new political

practices and methods. Government now demands the best trained brains of every business and profession. Government today requires higher and higher standards of those who would serve it. It must bring to its service greater and greater competence. The conditions of public work must be improved and protected. Mere party membership and loyalty can no longer be the exclusive test. We must be loyal not merely to persons or parties, but to the higher conceptions of ability and devotion that modern government requires.

There was a day when political sages, or those who controlled them, took the attitude that anything new, or what they called "new-fangled", would lead to dire results. There is nothing new in those prophecies of gloom. I read these lines in a paper the other day -- a little poem entitled GOING TO THE DOGS:

My grandpa notes the world's worn cogs,
And says we're going to the dogs;
His granddad in his house of logs,
Swore things were going to the dogs;
His dad, among the Flemish bogs,
Vowed things were going to the dogs;
The caveman in his queer skin togs,
Said things were going to the dogs;
But this is what I wish to state -
The dogs have had an awful wait.

I would be lacking in any sense of responsibility and lacking in elementary courage if I shared in such a hopeless attitude.

I, for one, am willing to place my trust in the youth of America. If they demand action as well as preachments, I should be ashamed to chill their enthusiasm with the dire prophecy that to change is to destroy. I am unwilling to sneer at the vision of youth merely because vision is sometimes mistaken. But vision does not belong only to the young.

There are millions of older people who have vision, just as there are some younger men and women who are ready to put a weary, selfish or greedy hand upon the clock of progress and turn it back.

We who seek to go forward must ever guard ourselves against a danger which history teaches. More than ever, we cherish the elective form of democratic government, but progress under it can easily be retarded by disagreements that relate to method and to detail rather than to the broad objectives upon which we are agreed. It is as if all of us were united in the pursuit of a common goal, but that each and every one of us were marching along a separate road of our own. If we insist on choosing different roads, most of us will not reach our common destination. The reason that the forces of reaction so often defeat the forces of progress is that the Tories of the world are agreed and united in standing still on the same old spot and, therefore, never run the danger of

getting lost on divergent trails. One might remark in passing that one form of standing still on the same spot consists in agreeing to condemn all progress and letting it go at that.

Therefore, to the American youth of all parties I submit a message of confidence, -- Unite and Challenge! Rules are not necessarily sacred -- Principles are. The methods of the old order are not, as some would have you believe, above the challenge of youth.

Let us carry on the good that the past gave us. The best of that good is the spirit of America. And the spirit of America is the spirit of inquiry, of readjustment, of improvement, above all a spirit in which youth can find the fulfillment of its ideals. It is for the new generation to participate in the decisions and to give strength and spirit and continuity to our Government and to our national life.

INFORMAL EXTEMPORANEOUS REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT
TO THE WOMEN'S DEMOCRATIC CLUB
MOSES SMITH'S FARM, HYDE PARK, NEW YORK
September 3, 1935, 7.15 P.M.

(It was raining and Moses Smith said to the President, "It was a mistake to hold this meeting tonight, I will admit." To which the President replied, "You do not call this stormy weather, do you?"

Moses Smith introduced Mrs. Marshall, who, in turn, introduced the President. Mrs. Marshall referred to the fact that she had anticipated the honor of introducing the First Lady as the principal speaker, and explained that Mrs. Roosevelt was absent attending the funeral of Mrs. Ickes, and that the President was speaking in her stead.)

I think that Mrs. Marshall might have described me as a pinch hitter. (Laughter) I think it is only fair because my better half has pinch hit for me so often in various parts of the country that it is only right that once, at least, I should pinch hit for her.

I am awfully sorry that she cannot be here tonight. You know the reason why. She will be back again very soon.

We have come back from Washington, as you know, at the close of a very interesting and very useful session of the Congress, probably one of the most important sessions

that the Congress of the United States has ever had.

I am not going to talk about politics or about world affairs or about national affairs. I am somewhat busy still in vetoing bills. That is sort of a specialty of mine. I got the habit up in Albany. After the first session in 1929 of the State Legislature, I had vetoed a great many bills and at the end of what we called "the thirty-day period", I said to the Counsel to the Governor, "How many bills did I veto?" "Well," he said, "you vetoed twenty-four per cent of all the bills that were passed." Then it occurred to me to look up the record of a former Governor of the State who was known for his vetoing habits. His name was Grover Cleveland and, by Jove, I found he had only vetoed twenty-two per cent. So I am still passing on some of the legislation that was passed in the last week of the Congress, and for the next two or three days I will be engaged in that and, after that, I hope to have somewhat of a quiet time up here and look over a few places and plant a few trees.

After that, towards the end of the month, I hope to carry out a long cherished program of going out to the West Coast, on a fairly short trip, to dedicate one of the

wonders of the world, the famous Boulder Dam, right across the Canyon of the Colorado River, which will impound a great lake where before there was only a canyon and a rushing torrent. That lake will supply electricity and water for irrigation ditches to a great many communities and counties in the Southwest.

From there I hope to go on to see the Exposition at San Diego. I pressed the button to open it several months ago and I want to see more of it than you get from the mere pressing of a button. And then, a little later on, after that trip, I expect to be back here at Hyde Park.

The one reason that I am going on this trip and the one reason I cannot go back to Washington is the fact that the White House is uninhabitable. Every once in a while, and perhaps you can take this as a parable on life and on government -- every once in a while, in every structure, whether it be the human structure or things made with the hands or things created, like government -- every once in a while you have to repair things. Back in the days of President Coolidge, the roof of the White House leaked. In fact, it was quite dangerous, because some of the beams up under the roof had sagged. As I remember it,

the White House was built starting in 1796, and it was first occupied by President John Adams. George Washington used to come up from Mount Vernon and stay with John Adams in the White House. From that time on it has been occupied by every President of the United States. The White House, of course, is one of our most historic buildings in this country, and I think it will always remain and continue to be the same beautiful structure, and have the same dignity, the same simplicity it has always had. But every once in a while you have to make repairs. In President Coolidge's day it was the roof and they had to completely rebuild the roof and put in new rafters.

This year we found that over a period of thirty years they had not re-wired the White House, and the wires that were put in for the electric lights away back in 1905, in T. R.'s day, were not very safe. Some of them were the wires and the materials used in the processes of 1905 and they were not as permanent or as safe as the materials or processes of 1935. So, this Summer, we are re-wiring the White House with, I think, a better type of wiring and in a way which will make it more safe. There will be less chance of that historic building burning up because we are

doing this much needed repair job. We are putting in some new materials, better materials, and we know more about electric wiring than we did in 1905.

So, while I have to be out of the White House during that period, when I go back it will be a safer place to live in, yet it will be the same old White House that the American people have owned for nearly a hundred and forty years.

Now, I think that is a very useful parable for people to think of in these days. We are not changing the White House, we are just making it a better place and a safer place to live in, but it is the same old White House we have always had and always will have, no matter who the President of the United States may be in the next four years or the next eight years or the next one hundred years.

So it goes with a great many things that we do. We are constantly repairing and I think we are constantly bettering the White Houses that exist in every home, in every farm, in every city and in every community -- that is why I am not very much worried about the future of the United States.

I hope I will see you all very soon again. I

hope, now that the Congress has gone home and the bills are nearly all signed or vetoed, that I shall have a chance to drive around a bit and see some of you and have a delightfully quiet holiday two or three weeks before I start off again. Then I will be able to come back later on in the Autumn -- I certainly will be back here in time to vote.

(Applause)

It is good to see you and I wish I could stay for the rest of the party, but I have to go back. I have various things to do before I go to bed. Many thanks.

(Prolonged applause)

RE THE PRESIDENT'S REMARKS
AT THE NEW YORK STATE CONSERVATION CELEBRATION
LAKE PLACID, NEW YORK
September 14, 1935

MEMO FOR JUDGE ROSENMAN:

This was a good speech in that the President gave some of his ideas on conservation and talked about his past work in the State of New York.

One correction may be desirable where the President pointed out that in a political campaign 'two years ago' he had brought up the subject of conservation. This, I believe, should be corrected to read 'three years ago.' I think the President referred to reforestation in his Atlanta speech in 1932.

INFORMAL EXTEMPORANEOUS REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT
ON THE OCCASION OF THE CELEBRATION OF THE
FIFTIETH ANNIVERSARY OF STATE CONSERVATION
LAKE PLACID, NEW YORK
September 14, 1935, 9.45 A.M.

(There was a pageant, which included a demonstration of woodcraft and fire control, also the releasing of several thousand birds. Governor Lehman introduced the President.)

Governor Lehman, Commissioner Osborne, my friends:

Today brings back many memories. The last time I was in this spot, speaking in fact from this same platform, I am told, was three years ago at the time of the Olympic ice sports. We had as our guests in the State a great many men and women from Europe, most of the countries of Europe, and Japan. I am very glad that this beautiful Stadium has proven its usefulness on a good many other occasions.

My memory goes back a good deal further than three years ago, in fact it goes back to twenty-five years ago, when a very young and unexpectedly elected Senator from the Hudson River Valley, because they couldn't think of anything else for him to do in the Senate, made him a Chairman of what was known as the Forest, Fish and Game

Committee. It was a post that was supposed to be a sinecure, one of no importance, because in those days there was no such thing as the Conservation Department. The Forest, Fish and Game Commission of the State, headed up by an old friend of mine, the father of Commissioner Osborne, started in during the following two years on what was the germ of this great development. We had been protecting what game we had left, we had been planting a few fish in the streams and, with an entirely inadequate force, we were trying, almost in vain, to prevent fires in the Adirondacks. As a matter of fact, the Adirondacks Preserve and the Catskill Preserve in those days were only half the size that they are today. We were growing in the nurseries of the State a few hundred thousand trees, very few people were using them and there was practically no interest in what you and I know today as conservation in its broadest sense.

But, beginning under the leadership in those days of Commissioner Osborne -- Lithgow's father -- people began to take an interest. There was a very fine episode that occurred in that session of the Legislature. I was very keen, after having studied the subject, to get the people of the State interested in preventing soil erosion in the

Adirondacks. There were great areas which had been cut over, the tops of the trees remaining far above the ground. I wanted to get through what was known as the Top Lopping Law and I wanted to get people interested in seeing to it that the trees were preserved on the tops of our mountains. So I invited the Chief Forester of the United States, a man by the name of Gifford Pinchot, who was one of the pioneers of forestry, who had studied in Europe, to come up to Albany. We had a session in the Assembly Chamber and to it I succeeded in getting a large number of Senators and Assemblymen.

Gifford Pinchot put two pictures on a screen and those two pictures did more than any other thing to sell conservation to the Legislature of the State of New York. One of them, the first one he showed, was a photograph of an old Chinese painting, the painting of some place up in North China having been executed in approximately the year 1510, four hundred years before this talk that he was giving. It showed a beautiful valley, and a walled town in the valley. It was a town which, history says, had three hundred thousand people in it. There was a beautiful stream running through that valley with fields and crops

on both sides of it. It was obviously a stream that was not subject to flood conditions. The mountains on each side of the valley were covered with spruce, pine forests, clear to their tops. But, if you examined this old painting, you would see that up on the side of one of those mountains was a streak, and if you examined it closely, you found that it was a logging chute. In other words, those old Chinamen, four hundred years before, had begun to cut the timber off the top of the mountain and they were chuting it down to the valley for all kinds of purposes. They had never heard of conservation and history shows that for the next one hundred years the people in that valley cut off all the trees from the top of the mountain.

Then came the second picture, one that Gifford Pinchot, I think, had taken himself, had taken from the identical spot where the first painting had been made. That second picture showed a desert. It showed mountains that had rocks on them and nothing else. There was no grass, no trees, just rocks. In other words, the entire soil had been washed off those mountains and there they were, bare for all time. Down in the valley, the old, walled town was in ruins. I think there were three hundred

people left in the ruins, trying to eke out a meagre existence. The stream had become a flood stream. Rocks and boulders had covered the fertile fields that once existed on both sides of the stream.

There you saw the wreck of a great civilization of four hundred years ago and nothing left except some ruins and rocks.

Well, that picture in those days, twenty-five years ago, sold conservation and forestry to the Legislature of the State of New York. And, as a result, we were enabled to get through the first important legislation for conservation. From that time on, you and I know the history. You know that a few years ago we started a more ambitious program in the State, not only for fish and game, but also for the continued purchase by the State of submarginal land and worked out a program for the better use of land as a whole.

It is fine to see this splendid and efficient force under the State Conservation Department. Each year that goes by, they are becoming more efficient, and this is one of the activities of the State that I am very certain will keep going through all the years.

I am glad also to see these boys from the CCC Camps. It is just two years ago when a certain person, who was entering a political campaign, suggested that for the preservation of the forests of the Nation, for the planting of acres that needed planting, for the purposes of preventing soil erosion and, incidentally, for the purpose of helping a great many unemployed families, that the Government of the United States ought to take several hundred thousand young men and ask them to go into forests all over the United States, to preserve those forests and to increase them. And I remember the comment that greeted that suggestion. Some of you who are here remember the ribald laughter about planting trees, this "crazy dream", this "political gesture".

Well, there are five hundred and ten thousand young men today in CCC Camps in every State of the Union. They are preserving the forests and the soil of the United States for generations to come. The idle dream has become a fact. And I see no reason why I should not take this occasion to tell you that, in my judgment, these Camps that do so much good in every State of the Union are not only good for future generations but are doing a lot of

good for this generation. I see no reason why I should not tell you that these Camps, in my judgment, are going to be a permanent part of the policy of the United States Government. (Applause)

Of course, I do not know if, when Congress meets again, we shall be able to continue them on the present very large scale. Over one million boys, during the past two years, have passed through or are now in those Camps. We have over five hundred thousand now but, if things go along as they are today with a general pick-up in employment, it is my thought that in the future years, the people of this country might well afford to have, every year, three hundred thousand young men go through these Camps. We have, very literally, only just scratched the surface. We have a long ways to go. There is enough work in sight right in this State -- I think Commissioner Osborne will bear me out -- to continue the work of the CCC Camps for a whole generation to come.

There is one more point that I would like to make to you who are regularly in the service of the State. You are accomplishing the forestry-game end of it. You are accomplishing an exceedingly useful purpose. There

has been great progress on State lands but, at the same time, one of our problems is to extend the knowledge and practice of forestry to private lands as well. This State is not nearly as badly off today as a great many other States, but, of course, lumber, timber, is a commercial asset to the Nation. And so, outside of these permanent Government preserves, where we are not going in for commercial timber, outside of those areas, there are millions of acres that are being used for commercial forestry. The professional foresters, of which I almost consider myself one because they made me an honorary member -- the professional foresters of the country sometimes use long words: They are all working today for what they call "sustained yield". Well, the average citizen does not understand what "sustained yield" means. So, for those average citizens I will translate it in this way: What we are seeking in all the privately owned forest lands, from the farm woodlot up to the large lumbering operations, what we are seeking is the treatment of trees as a crop. Now, that does not mean merely a crop, but an annual crop.

In other words, we must start at the bottom and persuade the farmer that he must only take off his woodlot

each year the amount of trees -- lumber, logs, cordwood, whatever it may be -- equivalent to the growth made in that woodlot that year. And so with the larger lumbering operations. There are more and more lumber companies with very large acreage who are coming to this annual crop theory. With that, we shall eliminate some of the terrific evils of the past. Not in this State, but in many States you will find abandoned communities, communities that sometimes ran as high as three thousand or five thousand people, that were put in there for a lumbering operation. The timber was cut clean over a period of five or ten years and then that community was abandoned to its fate. If you put this thing on an annual basis, your communities in the forest areas will last for all time.

Then there is one other phase of it that is worth thinking about. If timber is treated as an annual crop, it becomes an asset on which you can raise money and I hope that the next session of the Congress will pass legislation which will extend credit to the owners of forest land, credit based on the asset of the crop. There is no reason why either Government or private banking industry should not consider trees just as much of an asset, if they are

properly taken care of, as houses or barns or anything else on which, today, we extend credit.

These are some of the things that Conservation has got to look forward to, and in the meantime the spreading of the gospel, the spreading of the gospel of conservation, is something that we are succeeding in accomplishing. The people in the last two years have become more and more conscious of the practical economic effect of what we are doing. They are becoming more and more conscious of the value to themselves, city dwellers and country dwellers, in protecting these great assets of nature that God has given us.

And so, my friends, as a very old Conservationist, I am glad to be with you here today and to congratulate you on the fine work that you are doing. May it go on through all the years. (Applause)

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INFORMAL EXTEMPORANEOUS REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT
ON THE OCCASION OF THE DEDICATION OF THE
WHITE FACE MEMORIAL HIGHWAY
ON TOP OF WHITE FACE MOUNTAIN (NEAR LAKE PLACID, NEW YORK)
September 14, 1935, 12 o'clock Noon

(The ceremonies took place at an elevation of 4600 feet, overlooking a beautiful view covering, if I recall it correctly, the northern part of the Adirondacks clear up to the Canadian border.)

The ceremonies were opened by Chairman Anderson representing the White Face Memorial Highway Commission, who introduced Governor Lehman. Governor Lehman introduced Judge Shibling, head of the American Legion of the Department of the State of New York. Chairman Anderson then introduced the President.)

Governor Lehman, Colonel Anderson, men and women
of the World War:

What I have seen today in this wonderful drive makes me more enthusiastic about four little words than I ever have been before. Those four short words are these, "it can be done." (Applause)

Back in 1917, when the United States entered the World War, within a few weeks after April 6, 1917, we received in Washington two delegations of military and naval and civilian officials, one from France and the other from England. Little preparation had been made by this country

before actually entering into the War and there were many theories as to what part the United States should play. I happened to be present in those days at a conference by these visitors with the President of the United States and the leaders of our Army and Navy. We had thought up to that time in terms of entering the War -- some kind of a war -- and of putting half a million men into the field. The preparations of the General Staff of the Army and of the Navy had never visualized a war that would call for more than perhaps a million men.

But, through April 1917, we saw, having entered the War, the necessity of winning the War -- at least of helping our associated and allied countries in winning the War -- and I remember old Marshal Joffre, in the conference, asking the President of the United States how many men America could furnish, and I remember very well the reply of our President. "You will have, Marshal Joffre, a million men, and if you need two million men you will have two million men, and if you need five million men you will have five million men and, if you need the entire man-power, you will have the entire man-power of America." And, then he used those four words, "it can be done." (Applause)

Actually, as you know, nearly five million men were under arms in the Army and Navy. And, if it had been necessary, we would have supplied five million more to help win that War. Wilson said, "it can be done", and it was done.

Later on, I had the privilege of seeing many of those men at the front, both on the waters and also on the fields of Belgium and of France. Knowing those men at the front, I am very certain in my own mind that there is no more fitting tribute to them that we in the State of New York could dedicate than this great Memorial Highway to the peak of one of the highest mountains of our State.

Those men who served in the War, whether abroad or at home, were thinking of the future of their Nation. The Governor has well said that this Memorial will outlast any structure of bricks or mortar, any building, any archway, any other tribute that we could possibly create, because this Highway will last, not for generations, but for the centuries to come. Furthermore, it is not a mere tablet, not a mere building that serves some useful purpose and is seen by many people. It is something more than that. This Highway will enter into the lives of our generation

and future generations more usefully, I believe, than anything else that we could have created.

Back in those days when there were "doubting Thomases", when we were talking about this tribute, they said, some of them, "Let us keep the mountains of the Adirondacks for those who seek to get close to nature, who want to climb to the highest peak on foot, who want to camp." Yet you and I know that it is only a comparatively small proportion of our population that can indulge in the luxury of camping and hiking. Even those who engage in it are going to get, some day, to the age of life when they will no longer be able to climb on their own two feet to the tops of mountains. So, for them as they get older, and also for the millions of people who have not got the facilities or the possibilities of walking up to the top of our great mountain, we have provided one mountain that they can go to on four wheels. (Applause)

A far greater proportion of the population of our State and of those who visit us from other states will be served on their holidays and vacations, on their camping trips, than if this Highway had not been built. I like to think that we have done something here that will

serve the pleasure and the good of the people of this country more than anything else that we could have done.

As to the Highway itself, I can only repeat to you a remark that was made to me about a month ago by a distinguished French engineer. He had driven to the top of this road and when he came to Washington he said to me, "I, of course, know all of the great mountain highways of Europe. There is no highway in all of Europe which can compare for its engineering skill, for its perfection of detail, with the White Face Mountain Highway of the State of New York." (Applause)

I have been told various stories. This being my first trip, I had to verify them. I had been told it would be necessary to wear red flannels on top of the Mountain. Well, on this beautiful day you and I know that that is not true. I had been told that you could see Lake Champlain and I believed it, and there it is before my eyes. But I had been told two other things that I did not believe. I had been told that I could see the St. Lawrence River and from over there (indicating) in that car, I could see it through binoculars and over there (indicating) it is. I was told that I could

see Mount Kelly (?) and that, too, I have seen through the binoculars today.

I know the United States fairly well, I think, and I was interested in a remark that Colonel Anderson made to me on the way up, which I can verify, I think, knowing our Western friends. A man from Denver came up the Mountain the other day and when he came down, Colonel Anderson asked him what he thought of it. And he said, "Well, I am from Denver, and we have got a road up Pike's Peak, so I cannot tell you, coming from Denver and Pike's Peak, that this is finer than that, but I am able to tell you, knowing all the mountains of the East, that there is nothing in the Eastern part of the United States that touches White Face." (Applause)

Yes, it is a great sight, one hundred and thirty-seven lakes that can be seen from the top of the Mountain. You can see the whole range of the Adirondacks. Think of being able to see the Adirondacks, all of them, for a dollar. (Laughter) People are going to come here, my friends, and it is up to us, the citizens of the State of New York, to tell all of our neighbors in the forty-seven other states that they have got to come and see this Mountain and not go

back home without seeing it. To me, this is one of the finest things that the State of New York has ever done.

I bear tribute to Colonel Greene, to the Commission, and especially to all the men who have been engaged in this great work. It has not only been magnificently engineered, but it has been run within the bounds of cost. That is a great thing these days, and it is going to pay for itself.

And so, my friends, I am very happy to be here. I wish very much that it were possible for me to walk up the few remaining feet to the actual top of the Mountain. Some day they are going to make it possible for people who cannot make the little climb to go up there in a comfortable and easy elevator.

So, once more, let me tell you how happy I have been on this day of dedication and let me tell you of the World War, men and women, that I believe this is a tribute from the citizens of the State of New York which would be appreciated by those fallen comrades of ours who served their State and their Nation so well. It is fitting that we should dedicate it in their names. It will stand as a tribute to them through all the centuries to come. (Prolonged applause)

INFORMAL REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT BEFORE
THE THIRD ANNUAL MEETING FOR THE MOBILIZA-
TION OF HUMAN NEEDS DELIVERED FROM THE SOUTH
PORTICO OF THE WHITE HOUSE.

September 23, 1935.

Mr. Swope, Ladies and Gentlemen of this Third Annual
Meeting for the Mobilization of Human Needs:

I am happy, indeed, to greet the national and
community leaders of the human welfare services of the
whole nation. For the third time we have the opportunity,
face to face, to pledge at once the substance and the
sinews of government and of private organized welfare
agencies in the service of the less fortunate of the land.
The problem, in spite of definitely brighter economic skies
this year, demands the best that both can give.

I want to extend my congratulations and apprecia-
tion for your heroic work -- and I choose that word "heroic"
deliberately -- during these years through which we have
just passed. The fact that you have maintained your support
of welfare services with a shrinkage of only thirteen per
cent of the amount raised since 1929 is remarkable. I am
glad to know that you halted the retreat at that point a
year ago and now are headed once more toward the front. Let
there be a general advance from that point in the 350 cam-
paigns which have been organized for the autumn of 1935.

There are very special reasons why all must cooperate to bring private welfare support back at least to the 1929 level. In pursuance of the announced policy of the legislative and administrative branches of the Federal Government, the Government is withdrawing as rapidly as possible from the field of emergency home relief. We are moving successfully toward the substitution of work for direct relief. We anticipate, in addition to the work provided by Federal funds, a very definite increase in work provided by the employers of the nation during the coming year. The great mass of private employers realize today that they again must greatly help in our economic situation by offering employment to the utmost limit of their ability.

Chiefly because of the steps taken by the Government itself during the past two and a half years to save homes and farms, to bring prices into a more fair adjustment, to make the payment of debts easier, to make loans to industry, to railroads and to banks, the actual purchasing power of the mass of the people has greatly risen from the low point of 1932. This means, therefore, that the nation as a whole is better able to do its duty to private charities than it has been for six long years, and that is a pretty good selling argument for all of you to carry to the nation.

In the task of caring for the less fortunate in this year of 1935, there are of course many important gaps

to be filled. It is to the filling of these gaps that your earnest efforts are being directed.

It cannot be emphasized too often that the task you have been doing all these years is far broader than relief. The public must realize more and more the great and necessary work you are doing in such fields as nursing, hospitals, child welfare, recreation and youth guidance. Such services as these have not and cannot be assumed as a responsibility of the Federal Government except in a most limited degree. Their very nature consigns them to private agencies.

I am very glad that the new Commission for Social Security, headed by Governor Winant, with the able assistance of Mr. Altmeyer and Mr. Miles, has come to Washington. They are about to undertake a great task; that of spreading the gospel of taking care of the aged throughout the country, of setting up unemployment insurance and, also, of co-operating with the States and communities in taking care of widows and children. That is going, in the years to come, to be considered one of the greatest steps ever taken by the American people.

The work of this new Commission dovetails -- ties in -- very closely with the human needs of every community and I am very confident that you will be able to make it clear in this campaign that you are cooperating in this new work. It is going to help every community in the land.

It is going to make more clear that all of us jointly face.

The responsibility of private welfare has become increasingly great as industrial life creates new problems of community living. Such support must come from all those whose developments have accentuated the congestion and the problems of community life.

They owe the community a very substantial sum for the maintenance of community welfare services. Such gifts should be, and I am confident will be based on the sound motive of helping those within the community who need all kinds of help and better living conditions.

Let me repeat how glad I am to come back to Washington today to join in this great conference. I am especially glad to greet your hard working, devoted Chairman, Gerard Swope, my old friend.

And, so, I say Godspeed to you, to all of your fellow-workers here and in the communities from which you come. The United States can have no higher ideal than that expressed in your slogan. To each and all of you let me say -- Be a Good Neighbor.

THE PRESIDENT'S TRIP TO THE WEST COAST
September 26 to October 2, 1935

The President made very brief "how-do-you-do" remarks to the crowd which greeted him at:

Seymour, Indiana, September 27

Washington, Indiana, September 27

Vincennes, Indiana, September 27

Flora, Illinois, September 27

Council Bluffs, Iowa, September 28

Grand Island, Nebraska, September 28 (10,000 people)

Gothenberg, Nebraska, September 28

Omaha, Nebraska, September 28.

FREMONT, NEBRASKA

(Rear Platform)

September 28, 1935, 12.45 P.M. Central Standard Time.

(The President was presented by Dan Stephens.
Audience was about 15,000.)

THE PRESIDENT: My friends, I am very glad to be introduced by my old friend, Dan Stephens, and I am glad to come to the birthplace of my Secretary of War, George Dern, and to come here in company with the Governor of your State, an old friend of mine, with Senator Burke and with former Governors Weaver and Bryan. And, my friends, I am only sorry that another old friend of mine cannot be here today. I refer to a man who probably in this country would be regarded as one of the half dozen greatest Americans -- Senator George Norris.

Yes, it is good to get into Nebraska again. It is almost exactly three years ago that I visited farms in this State (and at that time I saw farmers threshing thirty-cent wheat and shelling twenty-cent corn. Much has happened during the three years that followed. (Then) at that time the prices of farm products were falling lower and even lower as markets vanished and surpluses accumulated; farm buildings and farm equipment were deteriorating month by month; soil fertility was being sapped as farmers struggled to raise enough bushels to meet their debts and their taxes. Country schools were closing and,

most disheartening of all, thousands of farmers were losing their homes by foreclosure. (This) that was true not only in this part of the great West, but it was true also in practically every State of the Union -- north, south, east and west.

(The) that man-made depression -- because it was that -- was, as we know, followed in many parts of the country by the most severe drought in our recorded history.

I am taking (the) this opportunity, my friends, of stopping here in Fremont to deliver to you a message of thanks. Through you I deliver that same message of thanks to the farmers and farm families throughout the Nation.

We all know the heroic story of the pioneers. We know the hardships and the troubles that they suffered. If ever we need a national demonstration that the pioneering spirit that originally settled this country still lives, unshaken and undiminished, the farmers of America have proved it in the years (through which we) that have just passed. I well realize the suffering and the desolation of those years. I know the faith and hope, the patience and courage you have shown. For this I applaud you; for this I extend the thanks of the Nation to the farmers of the Nation.

Three years ago I did not promise the millenium for agriculture. But I did promise that I should attempt to meet (that) an intolerable situation -- to battle that situation in every way that human effort and human ingenuity (made possible)

could devise. I said that I should do my best, and that if my efforts proved unsuccessful, I should tell the country frankly and try something else. But I am glad to say that so far as we have gone today that has not been necessary (that was not necessary).

In those days I was not meeting a theory, I was meeting a condition. Foremost among the efforts of my Administration when we came into office in March, 1933, were practical means to improve the situation on the farms of (this) the country. I recognized in March 1933 that efforts to improve agriculture should of necessity be twofold. We should attempt first of all to lift the immediate burdens by raising farm prices and by lightening the burden of debt. Secondly, I pledged myself to long-term efforts extending beyond these immediate emergency measures to stabilize American agriculture by long-term planning.

Even before I went to the White House I put into practice a theory (which) that older and more cynical persons told me was impossible. Up to that time the farmers of America had been unable to choose by any substantial majority between three or four plans aimed at restoring farm purchasing power and farm prosperity. People in Washington told me that you could never get farmers anywhere, farmers as a whole to agree to anything. But I think differently. (Nevertheless) And so, at the famous conferences, representative of every section

of the country and of every farm organization, held in Washington in the Spring of 1933, a very large majority of the farm leaders agreed on what you and I now know as the Agricultural Adjustment Plan. (This plan has been in operation for only two years and a half.) You know its general results. You know that there have been many imperfections in it and that we still have much to learn in providing better administration for it, in amending it from time to time, and in fitting it in to world conditions, which each year are showing tremendous changes.

The plan itself, as you know, was based on the cooperative efforts of the farmers themselves and on the broad economic theory that the industrial part of the population of the Nation could not prosper and return people to work unless the agricultural part of the Nation were in a position to purchase the output of the industrial part. It was based on knowledge of the fact that for the farmers of the Nation the long, downhill road to depression began not in 1929 but way back in 1920; that from that date on through the so-called boom days of the (nineteen twenties) next 9 years the debts of the farms and farmers mounted while their assets and earnings slid down hill.

And so, coming back to you after three years, I experience the (extreme) very great pleasure of recognizing that the cooperative efforts in which the farmers themselves, the

Congress and my Administration have engaged, have borne good fruit.

The problems of the early days of the Administration (was) were not only to raise crop values from starvation levels, but also to save farm families from actual loss of their homes and their chattels.

The burden of agricultural debt, it is true, has not been eliminated, but it has been decisively and definitely (lightened) lessened. Loans have been made through the Farm Credit Administration to nearly half a million farmers in this country since May, 1933. And those loans amount to (more than) a billion eight hundred million. Eighty-seven per cent (of this great sum) was used to refinance existing farm indebtedness. Why, the annual interest saving of farmers whose debts have been refinanced is about (one) a quarter of all of the interest previously paid. Over 850,000 (farmers) farm families are making annual savings this year in interest alone (of more than) amounting to more than \$55,000,000. The interest rate which farmers have to pay on the farm mortgage debts that have been refinanced by the Farm Credit Administration, with interest, is the lowest rate in (history) the whole history of our country.

My second effort in the immediate improvement of the farmer's position was to get him not only a relatively but an absolutely better return for his products. In approaching

(this) that problem we moved on two fronts; first, to free our monetary system (of) from bondage to a sufficient extent to permit money to serve the people rather than to force people to serve money. (Applause) I deliberately chose to disregard those who said that before a balance could be produced in our economic life, almost universal bankruptcy would be necessary through the process of continuing deflation. I held then, as I (now) hold today, that the appropriate measures to take were rather to improve prices, particularly in farm commodities, to such an extent that the things the farmer had to sell would enable him to buy the things that he needed to support life and to afford him a fair degree of security. From the summer of 1929 to the time when I took office in 1933, the prices of farm products, that is to say, the things that the farmer had to sell, had declined by 65%, while the prices of the things the farmer had to buy had fallen only 35%. Thus, the farmer of the Nation, on the average, had to use twice as many bushels of wheat, twice as many bushels of corn, twice as many tons of hay, twice as many hogs, twice as many bales of cotton, twice as much of all of his products, in order to buy the same amount of things that he needed. The closing of that gap, my friends, was an important objective of this Administration. It still is and we shall bend our efforts to hold the gains that we have made. The gap (which) that was the measure of the farmer's despair and distress,

after two and a half years of effort (in large part has been) has at last been closed.

Many factors, as you know, were involved in this re-adjustment. Our monetary policy was one. The drought was another. Increased demand for products caused by the economic revival was another, and the operations of (our) the Agricultural Adjustment Administration was still another.

I need not tell you of the origins and the purposes and the methods of (the Agricultural Adjustment Act) that Triple A Act. That is history, and, I submit, honorable history. Moreover, the farmers know how the Act has worked. They know from the contents of their own pocketbooks that their income has been increased. The record is there to prove the case -- an increase of \$1,000,000,000 in farm cash income in 1933 over the year 1932; an increase of \$1,900,000,000 (increase) in 1934 over 1932 and an estimated increase of \$2,400,000,000 (increase) in this year of 1935 over 1932. (Applause) Yes, that makes a total increase of \$5,300,000,000 over what the farmer's income would have been if the 1932 level had been continued. Is it surprising, in the light of this improved income, that the farm implement factories in Illinois and New York (and), the automobile factories of Michigan, (and) the steel mills of Pennsylvania, are springing into renewed life and activity? Is it any wonder that smoke is pouring once more from chimneys long smokeless? Is it any wonder

that workers long without regular jobs are going back to work in increasing numbers? Now, with export surpluses no longer pressing down on the farmer's welfare, and with fairer prices, farmers really have a chance for the first time in this generation to profit from improved methods. (Applause) With agriculture on the way to a condition of prosperity, it is possible now for the farmers of the (country) nation in cooperation with their Government, to look to the longer future.

Three years ago, in the desperate struggle to keep want from the threshold, farmers, no matter how much they might have wished to adopt cropping practices that would conserve and build the fertility of their soil, were compelled to raise more bushels of wheat and corn (or), more pounds of cotton (and) or tobacco than their land could properly sustain through the years. But with this compelling necessity now passed, they can put scientific crop rotation systems into effect and save their soil fertility. That, my friends, is of equal interest in Pennsylvania and in (Kansas) Nebraska (and), in Maine and in Georgia. The dust storms that a few months ago drifted from the western plains to the Atlantic Ocean were a warning to the whole Nation of what will happen if we waste our heritage of soil fertility, the ultimate source of our wealth and of life itself. (Applause)

I have not the time to talk with you in detail about

what the Government is trying to do to prevent soil erosion and floods. You know much of that great work to encourage forestation, to give people the opportunity voluntarily to move off submarginal land and on to adequate land where they can make both ends meet -- in other words, to use every square mile of the United States for the purpose to which it is best adapted. That in its accomplishment is a project of a hundred years. But for the first time in the history of the Nation, we have started on that project because for the first time we have begun to understand that we must harness nature in accordance with nature's laws, instead of despoiling nature in violation of (her) nature's laws. (Applause)

Perhaps the most important gain of all is the development of the farmer's ability, through cooperation with other farmers, to direct and control the conditions of his life. Programs now in effect under the Agricultural Adjustment (Act) Administration are planned and operated by the farmers themselves through nearly 5,000 county production control associations, which are manned by more than 100,000 committeemen and which number among their members more than 3,000,000 adjustment contract signers. Those are pretty big figures, but it is a grand sign of farm solidarity, and remember the Government's part in this program is merely to supply the unifying element that the farmers themselves, in their past efforts, found so essential to success. That, it seems to me, is the true function of a Government under our Constitution -- to promote the general welfare, not by interfering

unduly with individual liberties, but by bringing to the aid of the individual those powers of Government which are essential to assure the continuance of the inalienable rights which the Constitution is intended to guarantee.

(Applause) Yes, this is (It is) democracy in the good old American sense of the word.

The Government's policy toward agriculture has been evolving ever since the (time) days of the first President of the United States, George Washington. I know it will continue to evolve and I hope no one thinks that the present machinery is perfect and cannot be improved. What counts is not so much the methods of the moment as the pathways that are marked out down the years. I like to think of the Agricultural Adjustment Act, not merely as a temporary means of rescue for a great industry, but as the expression of an enduring principle carved in stone by a Nation that has come to maturity -- a Nation (which has) that has forever left behind the old irresponsible ways of its youth, a Nation facing the realities of today and prudently taking thought for the morrow. I like to think that never again will this Nation let its agriculture fall back into decay, and that instead the farmers of America will always be able to guard the principles of liberty and democracy for which their farmer ancestors fought. I like to think that agricultural adjustment is an expression, in concrete form, of the human rights those

farmer patriots sought to win when they stood at the bridge at Concord, when they proclaimed the Declaration of Independence, and when they perpetuated these ideals by the adoption of the Constitution of the United States. (Applause) Methods and machinery may change, but principles go on, and I have faith that, no matter what attempts may be made to tear it down, the principle of farm equality expressed by agricultural adjustment will not die. (Applause)

You who live in this section of Nebraska occupy what is very nearly the geographical center of the United States -- as much land west of you as lies east of you, as much land north of you as lies south of you. It is, therefore, fitting that at this place I should again pay tribute through you to the great farming population of the United States and those dependent on them for the splendid courage through long years of adversity which you have shown -- true to the pioneering spirit that would not quit, that made the best of well-nigh hopeless conditions -- that had (enough) faith enough in yourselves (and) enough faith in your country to keep your balance, to keep your perspective, to keep your good nature, and your continuing hope. (Applause) (Today) And so, my friends, I am today very happy, happy that you are marching along with heads still held high. Your hope has materialized, at least in part. Your faith has been justified. Your courage has been rewarded. (Applause)

INFORMAL EXTEMPORANEOUS REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
FROM THE REAR PLATFORM OF HIS SPECIAL TRAIN
NORTH PLATTE, NEBRASKA, EN ROUTE TO SAN DIEGO, CALIFORNIA

September 28, 1935, 6.30 P.M. Central Time

I am awfully glad to see all of you here at North Platte. I haven't been out here for three long years and things certainly look a lot better than they did then. I am very glad to see the improved conditions.

I have been trying to stop a fight in the car about an old friend of mine, Buffalo Bill. (Laughter) I will always remember when I was about five years old, Buffalo Bill came to my little county town of Poughkeepsie on the Hudson River and I was a very proud youngster when I was allowed to shake him by the hand. We were talking about him in the car just now and the Senator from Wyoming said that Wyoming claimed him, but the Senator from Colorado said, "We claim him because he is buried in Colorado."

Buffalo Bill was a great, old man and very typical of the kind of spirit that I have been talking about today in Fremont. It is the kind of courage that has enabled you good people to go through a great many years of hard times with courage and faith and patience. I believe that you have come through and are on your way to better days. (Applause)

I would be very proud if in these four years that I am in the White House, the Government of the United States could

make good on a slogan that was adopted in 1932, a little old song called, "Happy Days Are Here Again".

I have had a wonderful day. I have had your Governor on board and Senator Burke, and I was very sorry not to see that splendid, fine public servant, George Norris, a man who, more than anybody else probably, is responsible for the great program of the conservation of natural resources that we have been able to put through. Those resources represent the wealth of the country for generations to come.

It is good to see you all. Thanks very much for coming down to the station, I appreciate it. (Applause)

OK

INFORMAL EXTEMPORANEOUS REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
FROM THE REAR PLATFORM OF HIS SPECIAL TRAIN
SALT LAKE CITY, UTAH, EN ROUTE TO SAN DIEGO, CALIFORNIA

September 29, 1935, 12.45 P.M.

(There were about 15,000 people gathered on
the station platform and on the tracks.)

My friends, it is good on this beautiful morning to get back to Salt Lake City and I am very happy to be greeted by my old friends, the Governor and the Mayor of Salt Lake. I don't suppose there is any spot in the whole of the United States that gives me as much of a thrill as when I wake up in the morning and find that I am coming down into this great Salt Lake valley. I had that same thrill this morning and I have had it on many mornings in other years. It is good to see you all.

I always remember the delightful stay I had in Salt Lake and I am very happy today to see from your faces that things for all of you are a lot better than they were when I was here last, three years ago.

I am sorry not to find another old friend here, but it is my fault. The Secretary of War left a few days ago on a mission to represent me at the inauguration of the first President of the new Philippine Commonwealth but I know that George Dern, your former neighbor and Governor, is going to represent not only me but all of the American people in con-

gratulating the Philippine people on the beginning of what will be their complete independence.

To me it is a very fine and remarkable thing in the history of the world that a great nation, obtaining territory as a result of a war and agreeing to give independence to the people in that far-flung territory, has kept its word and that we are going to see the independence of the Philippine Islands in a very few years. It is an illustration of the fact that our people in this country believe in keeping their word. That is a mighty good thing for all of the world.

I wish I could stay and visit with you today but we have to move on and take part in the great ceremony at Boulder Dam tomorrow, a ceremony representing another step forward by this nation. It is good to see you and I hope to come back again next year and see you again.

INFORMAL EXTEMPORANEOUS REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
FROM THE REAR PLATFORM OF HIS SPECIAL TRAIN
CALIENTE, NEVADA, EN ROUTE TO SAN DIEGO, CALIFORNIA

September 29, 1935, 9.30 P.M. Pacific Time

(The President was introduced by Senator Key Pittman, who recalled the President's promises during the 1932 campaign, when he was unable to get to Nevada, and the keeping of those promises by the President.)

My friends, I am glad to get back into Nevada. One reason why I did not come here in 1932 was because Senator Pittman said it was not necessary. (Laughter) The Senator just told me that he will get into trouble for that. (Laughter)

As a matter of fact, I have had a wonderful day today -- a wonderful three days -- because it is the first time I have been able to come across the central part of the country since 1932. Last summer I came across the northern part of the country and at that time practically the whole of the West was going through a terrible period of drought. People were having a hard time on the farms, on the railroads, and almost everything else but we had already begun and were trying to do some of the things that we had promised to do. This year, I am glad that Nature has been more good to us in giving us more bountiful crops and giving us better prices, for which, perhaps, the Administration can take a little credit.

In any event, the thing that pleases me most is the expression on people's faces; they looked happier than they did in 1932, they look as though there was some fulfillment of

the hope that kept their courage up through all those bad years. That is why, to me, this has been a very happy trip across the continent.

Tomorrow I am going to see what is, perhaps, the greatest engineering work that man's hand has ever created. It is going to help all of this section of the country. One of the things I am going to tell the people in the Middle West and the East is that the development and the advancement of this part of the United States is going to do a lot to help them in every other part of the United States.

It is good to have this glimpse of you; I wish I could stay a little bit longer but I hope to get back and see you one of these days.

(Senator Pittman presented Mrs. Roosevelt.)

DEDICATION CEREMONIES - BOULDER DAM

September 30, 1935

11.30 A.M. Pacific Time

(From a temporary platform overlooking the
Dam. About 5,000 people.)

THE PRESIDENT: Senator Pittman, Secretary Ickes,
Governors of the Colorado's States, and you especially who
have built Boulder Dam:

This morning I came, I saw and I was conquered, as
everyone would be who sees for the first time this great
feat of mankind.

Ten years ago the place where we are gathered was an unpeopled, forbidding desert. In the bottom of a gloomy canyon, whose precipitous walls rose to a height of more than a thousand feet, flowed a turbulent, dangerous river. The mountains on either side of the canyon were difficult of access with neither road nor trail, and their rocks were protected by neither trees nor grass from the blazing heat of the sun. The site of Boulder City was a cactus-covered waste. The transformation wrought here in these years is a twentieth century marvel.

We are here to celebrate the completion of the greatest dam in the world, rising 726 feet above the bed-rock of the

river and altering the geography of a whole region; we are here to see the creation of the largest artificial lake in the world -- 115 miles long, holding enough water, for example, to cover the State of Connecticut to a depth of ten feet; and we are here to see nearing completion a power house which will contain the largest generators and turbines yet installed in this country, machinery (which) that can continuously supply nearly two million horsepower of electric energy. All these dimensions are superlative. They represent and embody the accumulated engineering knowledge and experience of centuries, and when we behold them it is fitting that we pay tribute to the genius of their designers. We recognize also the energy, resourcefulness and zeal of the builders, who, under the greatest physical obstacles, have pushed this work forward to completion two years in advance of the contract requirements. But especially, my friends, we express our gratitude to the thousands of workers who gave brain and brawn (to the) in this great work of construction.

Beautiful and great as this structure is, it must also be considered in its relationship to the agricultural and industrial development and in its contribution to the health and comfort of the people of America who live in the Southwest.

To divert and distribute the waters of an arid region so that there shall be security of rights and efficiency in service, is one of the greatest problems of law and of

administration to be found in any government. The farms, the cities, (and) the people who live along the many thousands of miles of this river and its tributaries all of them depend for their permanence in value upon the conservation, (the) regulation, and the equitable division of its ever-changing water supply. What has been accomplished on the Colorado in working out such a scheme of distribution is inspiring to the whole country. Through the cooperation of the States whose people depend upon this river, and of the Federal Government which is concerned in the general welfare, there is being constructed a system of distributive works and of laws and practices which will insure to the millions of people who now dwell in this basin, and the millions of others who will come to dwell here in future generations, a just, safe, and permanent system of water rights. In devising these policies and the means for putting them into practice the Bureau of Reclamation of the Federal Government has taken, and is destined to take in the future, a leading and helpful part. The Bureau has been the instrument which gave effect to the legislation introduced in Congress by Senator Hiram Johnson and Congressman Phil Swing.

We know that as an unregulated river, the Colorado added little of value to the region this dam serves. When in flood the river was a threatening torrent. In the dry months of the year it shrank to a trickling stream. For a

generation the people of Imperial Valley had lived in the shadow of disaster from (the) this river which provided their livelihood, and which is the foundation of their hopes for themselves and their children. Every spring they awaited with dread the coming of a flood, and (nearly every autumn) at the end of every summer they feared a shortage of water would destroy their crops.

The gates of (the) these great diversion tunnels were closed here at Boulder Dam last February. In June a great flood came down the river. It came roaring down the canyons of the Colorado, through Grand Canyon, Iceberg and Boulder Canyons, but it was caught (and) it was caught and held safely (held) behind Boulder Dam.

Last year a drought of unprecedented severity was visited here upon the west. The watershed of (the) this Colorado River did not escape. In July the canals of the Imperial Valley went dry. Crop losses in that Valley alone totaled \$10,000,000 that summer. Had Boulder Dam been completed one year earlier, this loss would have been prevented, because the spring flood would have been stored to furnish a steady water supply for the long dry summer and fall.

Across the San Jacinto mountains southwest of Boulder Dam the cities of Southern California are constructing an aqueduct to cost \$200,000,000 which they have raised, for the purpose of carrying the regulated waters of the Colorado

River to the Pacific Coast (259) 250 miles away.

Across the desert and mountains to the west and south run great electric transmission lines by which factory motors, street and household lights and irrigation pumps (will) can be operated in Southern Arizona and California. Part of this power will be used in pumping the water through the aqueduct to supplement the domestic supplies of Los Angeles and surrounding cities.

Navigation of the river from Boulder Dam to the Grand Canyon has been made possible, a 115-mile stretch that had been traversed less than half a dozen times in history. An immense new park has been created for the enjoyment of all our people. And that is why, my friends, those of you who are not here today but can hear my voice, I tell you to come to Boulder Dam and see it with your own eyes.

At what cost was this done? Boulder Dam and the power houses together cost a total of \$108,000,000, all of which will be repaid with interest in 50 years under the contracts for sale of the power. Under these contracts, already completed, not only will the cost be repaid, but the way is opened for the provision of needed light and power to the consumer at reduced rates. In the expenditure of the price of Boulder Dam during the depression years work was provided for 4,000 men, most of them heads of families, and many thousands more were enabled to earn a livelihood through manufacture of materials and machinery.

And, my friends, this picture is true on different scales; it is true in regard to the thousands of projects undertaken by the Federal Government, by the States and by the counties and municipalities in recent years. The overwhelming majority of them are of definite and permanent usefulness.

Throughout our national history we have had a great program of public improvements, and in these past two years all that we have done has been to accelerate that program. We know, too, that the reason for this speeding up was the need of giving relief to several million men and women whose earning capacity had been destroyed by the complexities and lack of thought of the economic system of the past generation.

No sensible person is foolish enough to draw hard and fast classifications as to usefulness or need. Obviously, for instance, this great Boulder Dam warrants universal approval because it will prevent floods and flood damage, because it will irrigate thousands of acres of tillable land and because it will generate electricity to turn the wheels of many factories and illuminate countless homes. But can we say that a five-foot brushwood dam across the head waters of an arroyo, and costing only a millionth part of Boulder Dam, is an undesirable project or a waste of money? Can we say that the great brick high school, costing \$2,000,000, is a useful expenditure but that a little wooden school house project, costing five or ten thousand dollars, is a wasteful

extravagance? Is it fair to approve a huge city boulevard and, at the same time, (to) disapprove the improvement of a muddy farm-to-market road?

While we do all of this, all of it, we give actual work to the unemployed and at the same time we add to the wealth and assets of the Nation. These efforts meet with the approval of the people of the Nation.

In a little over two years this great national work has accomplished much. We have helped mankind by the works themselves and, at the same time, we have created the necessary purchasing power to throw in the clutch to start the wheels of what we call private industry. Such expenditures on all of these works, great and small, flow out to many beneficiaries; they revive other and more remote industries and businesses. Money is put in circulation. Credit is expanded and the financial and industrial mechanism of America is stimulated to more and more activity. Labor makes wealth. The use of materials makes wealth. To employ workers and materials when private employment has failed is to translate into great national possessions the energy that otherwise would be wasted. Boulder Dam is a splendid symbol of that principle. The mighty waters of the Colorado were running unused to the sea. Today we translate them into a great national possession.

I might go further and suggest to you that use begets

use. Such works as this serve as a means of making useful other national possessions. Vast deposits of precious metals are scattered within a short distance of where we stand today. They await the development of cheap power.

These great Government power projects will affect not only the development of agriculture and industry and mining in the sections that they serve, but they will also prove useful yardsticks to measure the cost of power throughout the United States. It is my belief that the Government should proceed to lay down the first yardstick from this great power plant in the form of a state power line, assisted in its financing by the Government, and tapping the wonderful natural resources of southern Nevada. (Applause) Doubtless the same policy of financial assistance to state authorities can be followed in the development of Nevada's sister State, Arizona, on the other side of the River. (Applause)

With it all, with work proceeding in every one of the more than three thousand counties in the United States, and of a vastly greater number of local divisions of Government, the actual credit of Government agencies is on a stronger and safer basis than at any time in the past six years. Many states have actually improved their financial position in the past two years. Municipal tax receipts are being paid when the taxes fall due and tax arrearages are steadily declining.

Yes, it is a simple fact that Government-spending is already beginning to show definite signs of its effect on consumer-spending; that the putting of people to work by the Government has put other people to work through private employment, and that in two years and a half we have come to the point today where private industry must bear the principal responsibility of keeping the processes of greater employment moving forward with accelerated speed.

The people of the United States are proud of Boulder Dam. With the exception of the few who are narrow visioned, (the) people everywhere on the Atlantic seaboard, (the) people in the middle West and the Northwest (and the), people in the South must surely recognize that the national benefits which will be derived from the completion of this project will make themselves felt in every one of the 48 States (State). They know that poverty or distress in a community two thousand miles away may affect them, and equally that prosperity and higher standards of living across a whole continent will help them back home.

Today marks the official completion and dedication of Boulder Dam, the first of four great Government regional units. This is an engineering victory of the first order -- another great achievement of American resourcefulness, American skill and determination.

That is why I have the right once more to congratulate you who have (created) built Boulder Dam and on behalf of the Nation to say to you WELL DONE.

ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT
MEMORIAL COLISEUM
LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA
October 1, 1935, 10.30 A.M.

Mayor Shaw, my friends of Los Angeles:

Thank you from the bottom of my heart for this beautiful and splendid reception.

It is a pleasure indeed to come back to California. To the liberal spirit of this State our National program and progress owes a(n) (immeasurable) great debt. No State has a finer record in the great task of putting the strong arm of Government behind the less fortunate members of society. No State has sought more sincerely (the security) to improve the lot of (the individual) every citizen (through cooperative action). No State has been more earnest in its desire to (expand) foster the ideal of social justice. (Applause)

And, my friends, just so long as the least among us remain hungry or uncared for or unable to find useful work, just so long must it be the task of (all) government, local, state and Federal, to seek reasonable but progressive means to (assist) help the unfortunate. (Applause) I think that the faith of a liberal is profound belief not

only in the capacities of individual men and women, but also in the effectiveness of people helping one another. California has many splendid examples of the usefulness of (community) that kind of human cooperation.

As you know, I have not come here today to speak to you formally or even to speak to you about the problems of your national Government. I can tell you truthfully, however, that in crossing the Continent, I have been heartened, more than anything else, by the look on people's faces. (Applause) In these past years I have sought to understand the trials and the great difficulties under which such a large number of our people labor. I have tried to visualize the insecurities that have beset the lives of millions of our families.

It is true today, as shown not by the figures alone but the fine spirit of the great mass of Americans in every part of the (country) land, that we have come through stormy seas into fair weather. (Applause) A long patience is receiving its reward. Faith is being justified. Hope is being fulfilled.

It is true that we who are entrusted with the responsibilities of government have labored toward this

end, but the greatest factor in the improvement has been the courage of the American people themselves. Without your (collaboration) help, our labors would have availed far less.

We have taken many steps to protect the family and the individual against many of the natural (vicissitudes) difficulties of life. We have moved forward to give greater security to the unemployed and to the aged. We have sought sound means to our end.

Years ago, President Wilson told me a story. He said that the greatest problem that the head of a progressive democracy had to face was not the criticism of the reactionaries nor the attacks of those who would set up (an) some other form of government, but rather to reconcile and unite progressive liberals themselves. The overwhelming majority of liberals all seek the same end, the same ultimate objectives. But because (they see far) most liberals are able to see beyond the end of their own noses, they are very apt to want to reach (that) their goal by different roads. People who do not want to move forward in the improvement of civilization are perfectly content to stand in one spot and those people find it

(therefore) easy to remain united in demanding inaction. (Applause) Liberals, therefore, in order to make their efforts successful, must find common ground and a common road, each making some concession as to form and method in order that all may obtain the substance of what all desire. (Applause)

This great gathering here today is an inspiration which I shall carry with me on my (coming vacation) cruise in the Pacific. It brings vividly to my mind the splendid pageant in this Coliseum which I (saw) had the privilege of seeing in 1932. I have but one thought of regret today. On that occasion I was introduced by a very old friend of mine, a friend of every man, woman and child in the United States, a kindly philosopher -- one who would be with us today but for his untimely death in Alaska. (Applause)

Will Rogers' kindly humor saw facts and laughed at fantasy.

With him, most of us accept the prosaic fact that the way to make progress is to build on what we have, to take from the lessons of yesterday a little more wisdom and courage to meet the tasks of today. Democracy is not

a static thing. It is an everlasting march. When our children grow up, they will still have problems to overcome. It is for us, however, manfully to set ourselves to the task of preparation for them so that to some degree the difficulties they must overcome may weigh upon them less heavily.

I am confident that the people of the Nation, having put their shoulder to the wheel, will build a better future for their children in the days to come.

(Prolonged applause)

INFORMAL, EXTEMPORANEOUS REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT
AT THE JAMES W. WADSWORTH HOSPITAL
LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA
October 1, 1935

Boys, I wish I could get into the Hospital to see all of you. I want to give you my greetings and to wish you all the good luck in the world.

I have never seen this Hospital before. It is a beautiful building. Good luck to you all.

(Flowers were presented to Mrs. Roosevelt.)

INFORMAL EXTEMPORANEOUS REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT
AT THE UNVEILING OF THE STATUE ERECTED BY CCC
TRANSIENT CAMP, GRIFFITH PARK
LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA
October 1, 1935

I am glad to be here and take part in the dedication of
this great statue. It is good to see you all. You are
doing a splendid piece of work. (Applause)

SAN DIEGO, CALIFORNIA

At the Stadium

October 2, 1935, 2 o'clock P.M.

(Exposition President Belcher introduced the Mayor. The Mayor read a telegram from Senator McAdoo expressing his regret that he could not be present, due to an automobile accident. The Mayor then welcomed the President and introduced Governor Frank Merriam, who presented Mrs. Roosevelt and the President.

The Stadium and the field it surrounded were filled to capacity. At the opposite end of the Stadium to that occupied by the speakers' stand, several thousand school-children were costumed to spell out the word "Welcome.")

THE PRESIDENT: Governor Merriam, Mayor Benbough, fellow citizens, my friends: You have given me a wonderful party today and I am very grateful.

It is twenty long years since I stood here in company with Vice President Marshall (when the) at the time that that first gem of an exposition was given (first exposition was held) here in San Diego. I remember well at that time the flames of a world war were spreading and two years later we ourselves were to take part in that great catastrophe of mankind.

In the days that followed the coming of peace our Nation passed through a difficult period (of deflation) into, I am sorry to say, a decade of self-deceiving prosperity which we accepted unthinkingly in our desire for quietude, peace and luxury. The inevitable overtook us and during more than three years of increasing hardship we came to understand the ultimate national need for more than the necessities and pleasures of life; that which is spiritual in us came forward and taught us to seek security of the spirit -- that peace of mind, that confidence in the future, that deep contentment which make life not only possible but full and complete.

(A) That great adversity has chastened us; in the process of recovery we have well-nigh unanimous agreement in requiring the elimination of many of those evils in our national life, without which elimination true confidence cannot be made permanent.

I see signs -- we all see signs, unmistakable signs, of the restoration of this sound and genuine confidence -- a confidence of the masses of the people in the integrity and fairness of their government, a confidence that integrity and fairness in private enterprises themselves will take the place of many of the evils of the past -- in other words, the only confidence on which we can permanently build.

Expositions such as this at San Diego can and do well

express our hope of the future. Not only is the setting perfect, but the extent and the diversity of the products of American artistic and mechanical genius gathered here speak eloquently of what this Nation can attain on a broad scale.

To a great extent the achievements of invention, of mechanical and of artistic creation, must of necessity, and rightly, be individual rather than governmental. It is the self-reliant pioneer in every enterprise who beats the path along which American civilization has marched. Such individual effort is the glory of America.

The task of government is that of application and encouragement. A wise government seeks to provide the opportunity through which the best of individual achievement can be obtained, while at the same time it seeks to remove such obstruction, such unfairness as springs from selfish human motives. Our common life under our various agencies of government, our laws and our basic Constitution, exist primarily to protect the individual, to cherish his rights and to make clear his just principles.

It is this conception of service to the individual with which the Federal Government has concerned itself these two and a half years (just passed) gone by. When I took the oath of office there were evidences on all sides that the United States did not then possess a sound and just monetary

system. The forces of deflation had finally resulted in the almost complete collapse of our economic activities; the banking system had fallen down; prices of commodities were ruinously low; the burden of debt, individual and collective, was more than the Nation could bear. The farmer, the worker and business man often were helpless in the grip of circumstance.

We were confronted at that time by a choice of two ways of meeting the situation. We could let nature take its course until the process of deflation was complete, and then take (the) a long gamble (of) on building on the ruins. Such a course was driving us to irreparable damage (to) in our national life.

So we chose the alternate course. We sought in every sound and legitimate way to raise values, particularly the purchasing power of that agricultural half of the Nation without which factory wheels of the other half could not turn. We changed a gold standard that had become, not the assurance of a sound economic life, but a strait-jacket which pressed upon and paralyzed the nerve centers of our economic system. Through the extension of sound government credit we reduced the burden of private debt. We rehabilitated the banking system and finally we financed the outlays necessary for the encouragement of recovery, not through an increase in the burden of taxation upon the average citizen,

but by adding to the public debt, frankly and honestly.

(Applause)

As a result of (all these) those efforts bank deposits in active commercial banks have increased by ten billions of dollars, or more than 30%. At this moment the deposits in the banks of the Nation amount to more than fifty billion dollars which, I submit, compares favorably with the fifty-five billion dollars in June, 1929. (Applause) Unlike that year, however, the new system of deposit insurance is (covers) covering 98% of the (five) fifty million individual depositors in these insured banks and gives them full protection under the provisions of law. (Applause)

So, too, the credit policy of the Federal Reserve System in the past two years has sought and accomplished a reduction of interest rates for the purpose of stimulating business recovery. As a result, sound business (institutions) enterprises can secure money on bonds at a rate of $3\frac{1}{4}\%$ instead of $4\frac{3}{4}\%$ and 5% . Government bonds on which (the) you taxpayers formerly paid $3\frac{1}{2}\%$ (or more) are now sold with an interest rate of $2\frac{1}{2}\%$. Through important amendments to our banking laws, we have given practical recognition to the fact that monetary policies are a national public concern and not a regional or a private concern. For the Federal Government is in a better position than it ever has been to prevent

that disastrous expansion and contraction of credit which in the past has made our economic life a succession of unhealthy booms and disastrous depressions.

In the midst of the greatest and most disastrous of these depressions, the very foundation of individual life was crumbling in the Spring of 1933 because of the appalling increase in suffering and in destitution due to the fact of unemployment. Local and state governments and private charities were, in the large, drained of their resources. With the utmost good-will in the world they could not meet their primary responsibility. The situation, my friends, which I faced at that time was too challenging (and), too mandatory to permit of hesitation. An American Government cannot permit Americans to starve. (Applause) The task assumed in Federal relief carried us on an uncharted course. Mistakes (and), errors were inevitable -- that we know -- but essentially we met the larger responsibilities of the situation. The time demanded action as a substitute for inaction. (Applause)

In the first emergency action of those days we provided direct relief because a human situation confronted us, but, as rapidly as we could, recognizing that the moral and spiritual fibre of the American people should not be sapped by the narcotic of idleness, we undertook to substitute work for (a) the dole.

Today, after more than two years, the outlook is clearer, and even though we have not found final solution for many of the by-products of depression, some old and some new, as they affect unemployment, nevertheless it is not the spirit of America to shrink before a plain necessity. As the burden lifts, the Federal Government can and will greatly divest itself of its emergency responsibility but, at the same time, it cannot ignore the imperfections of the old order.

In the same broad field a changing civilization has raised new problems with respect to the relationship between the employer and the employed. It is now beyond partisan controversy that it is a fundamentally individual right of a worker to associate himself with other workers and to bargain collectively with his employer. (Applause) New laws, in themselves, do not bring a millenium, new laws do not pretend to prevent labor disputes, nor do they cover all industry and all labor. But they do constitute an important step toward the achievement of just and peaceable labor relations in industry. This right of the Federal Government is well established. Every President of the United States in this generation has been faced by the fact that when labor relations are strained to the breaking point there remains but one high court of conciliation -- the Government of the United States. (Applause)

In like manner we have sought to foster human co-operation within industry itself. Through the institution of codes within industries we sought to establish a rule of constitutional government within industry in substitution for the old rule of tooth and claw. The experience thus gained by business in cooperative methods marks a permanent advance. I have talked with hundreds of business men from every part of the land and an overwhelming proportion of them tell me frankly that unless they can unite for the elimination of unfair and destructive practices, naught but chaos and insecurity can be expected. These principles, so widely accepted under the National Industrial Recovery Act, still live and means for their application, I trust, can be found. (Applause)

Once more we stand upon an economic plateau. We have, therefore, a right to look forward to the brighter future while, at the same time, we remember the mistakes of the past.

Simple facts speak so eloquently that explanation is unnecessary. From March, 1933, through June, 1935, here are your gains (the following gains have been recorded) in the industrial and business life of America. Industrial production, as a whole, increased 45%; factory employment 35%; rural general store sales 104%; life insurance written 41%; automobile sales 157%; electrical power production 18% --

(this last being) which, incidentally, brings it to a higher (mark) point than in any (other) previous time in our history. (Applause)

Several centuries ago the greatest writer in our history described the two most menacing clouds that hang over human government and human society as "malice domestic and fierce foreign war". We are not rid of those dangers but we can summon (the) our intelligence to meet them.

Never was there more genuine reason for Americans to face down these two causes of fear. "Malice domestic" from time to time will come to you in the shape of those who would raise false issues, pervert facts, preach the gospel of hate, and minimize the importance of public action to secure human rights or spiritual ideals. There are those today who would sow these seeds, but your answer to them is in the possession of the plain facts of our present condition. (Applause)

The second cloud -- "foreign war" -- is more real -- a more potent danger at this moment to the future of civilization. It is not surprising that many of our citizens feel a deep sense of apprehension lest some of the nations of the world repeat the folly of twenty years ago and drag civilization to a level from which world-wide recovery may be all but impossible.

In the face of this apprehension the American people can have but one concern -- (and) the American people can speak but one sentiment: despite what happens in continents overseas, the United States of America shall and must remain, as long ago the Father of our Country prayed that it might remain, -- unentangled and free. (Prolonged applause)

This country seeks no conquest. We have no imperial designs. From day to day and year to year, we are establishing a more perfect assurance of peace with our neighbors. We rejoice especially in the prosperity, the stability and the independence of all of the American republics. (Applause) We not only earnestly desire peace, but we are moved by a stern determination to avoid those perils that will endanger our peace with the world. (Applause)

Our national determination to keep free of foreign wars and foreign entanglements cannot prevent us from feeling deep concern when ideals and principles that we have cherished are challenged. In the United States we regard it as axiomatic that every person shall enjoy the free exercise of his religion according to the dictates of his conscience. (Applause) Our flag for a century and a half has been the symbol of the principle of liberty of conscience, of religious freedom and equality before the law; and these concepts are deeply ingrained in our national character.

It is true that other nations may, as they do, enforce contrary rules of conscience and conduct. It is true that policies (that) may be pursued under flags other than our own, and those policies are beyond our jurisdiction. Yet in our inner individual lives we can never be indifferent, and we assert for ourselves complete freedom to embrace, to profess and to observe the principles for which our flag has so long been the lofty symbol. (Applause) As it was so well said by James Madison, long over a century ago, "We hold it for a fundamental and inalienable truth that religion and the manner of discharging it can be directed only by reason and conviction, not by force or violence." (Applause)

My friends, as President of the United States I say to you most earnestly once more that the people of America and the Government of those people intend and expect to remain at peace with (all) the world. (Applause) In the two years and a half of my Presidency, this Government has remained constant in following this policy of our own choice. At home we have preached, and will continue to preach, the gospel of the good neighbor. I hope from the bottom of my heart that as the years go on, (in every continent and in every clime), nation will follow nation in proving by deed as well as by word their adherence to the ideal of the Americas --
I AM A GOOD NEIGHBOR:

ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT
TO THE FIFTH ANNUAL WOMEN'S CONFERENCE
ON CURRENT PROBLEMS, NEW YORK, NEW YORK

(From the U.S.S. Houston)

October 16, 1935

Note: The President's message was read for him by Mrs. Roosevelt. It would have been delivered by the President, had radio facilities permitted, from the ship. Facilities for radio broadcasting from ships at sea, as distant from New York as the Houston, could not be guaranteed by radio engineers who feared a satisfactory reception of the message in New York would not be possible. Consequently it was arranged for the President to send the message to Mrs. Roosevelt for delivery.

"The meetings which you are holding are an excellent reminder of the very important fact that education in its broader sense begins only after formal school education is finished. Henry Adams, a great American, suggests, in the title of his autobiography, that a man's education is a continuing thing throughout his life. Especially is this true of education in public affairs, to which you so wisely turn your attention.

"There was never a time in the history of this country when an examination of the fundamental principles on the basis of which our public affairs are conducted was more important. Great and significant questions face us on all sides. We do well to take counsel with respect to these by a fair public presentation of varying points of view.

"This is particularly true with respect to the women of America. Their interest in these great questions is rooted deep in the conditions of their own lives. When our economic system fails to sustain an adequate standard of life, it is the women who face the most poignant privation. A falling standard in the incomes of average Americans, the dragging of innocent children from homes into factories, the problems of delinquency that arise from social conditions, the destruction of workers' morale by unemployment, the effects of poverty and dependency in old age, widespread preventable diseases, unnecessary industrial warfare, and, most of all, that failure of reason which permits and wages modern war -- all of these challenging factors in modern society throw upon the women of the nation a material and spiritual burden of the greatest significance. That is why the women of America, as their responsibilities of citizenship have greatly expanded, are turning with intense earnestness to measures which are aimed at eliminating or alleviating the effects of these imperfections of our society. They recognize, as all reasonable people must recognize, that government was not instituted to serve merely as a cold public instrument to be called into use after irreparable damage has been done. If we limit government to the functions of merely punishing the criminal after crimes have been

committed, of gathering up the wreckage of society after the devastation of an economic collapse, or of fighting a war that reason might have prevented, then government fails to satisfy those urgent human purposes, which, in essence, gave it its beginning and provide its present justification.

"Modern government has become an instrument through which citizens may apply their reasoned methods of prevention in addition to methods of correction. Government has become one of the most important instruments for the prevention and cure of these evils of society which I have mentioned. Its concern at the moment is unabated. It conceives of itself as an instrument through which social justice may prevail more greatly among men. In the determination of the standards that make up social justice, the widest discussion is necessary. In the last analysis, government can be no more than the collective wisdom of its citizens. The duty of citizens is to increase this collective wisdom by common counsel, by the discovery and consideration of facts relating to the common life, and by the discouragement of those who for selfish ends or through careless speech distort facts and disseminate untruth.

"In facing the problems involved in a world in which international discord still stalks abroad, the vivid

interests of women in the preservation of safe peace should be enlisted. Constant vigilance is necessary in a nation like ours, to see that forces that make for discord are discovered and discouraged. I have pledged myself to do my part in keeping America free of those entanglements that move us along the road to war. I want to feel at all times that I have the sustaining influence of a healthy, sound, and, above all, thoroughly American public opinion on the subject. My task and the task of all those others who are associated with me in the official life of the country can be made easier if the citizenship of the nation and particularly the women citizens of the nation seek the truth and a wise application of the truth.

"I had hoped to be able to speak to you in person by radio but my flagship is in the Pacific Ocean south of the Panama Canal and the problems of adequate transmission make this impossible. Therefore I can but extend you my greetings and my regrets that I am unable personally to participate in the valuable discussions of your most excellent meeting."

INFORMAL EXTEMPORANEOUS REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT
THE CITADEL, CHARLESTON, SOUTH CAROLINA

October 23, 1935, 4.30 P.M.

(Mayor Maybank introduced Governor Johnston of South Carolina, who, in turn, introduced the President.)

Governor Johnston, Mr. Mayor, my friends of Charleston and of South Carolina:

You have given me a very wonderful welcome home to the continental limits of the United States. It is a very happy ending to a very happy vacation.

I am glad to come back here after many years, for, as some of you will remember, in the old days when I was associated with the United States Navy under the Administration of that great American President, Woodrow Wilson, I had the opportunity of coming here on several occasions and of helping to build up, to some degree at least, this splendid Navy Yard in Charleston.

When I heard that I was to speak at The Citadel, old memories came back to me, memories not only of my own visit to the old school but memories also of the great historic tradition of that school, an historical record, a war record, if you please, of The Citadel boys that ought to be known to every boy in the United States. Then when I learned that The Citadel had moved, somehow I got a little choky over that, wondering what it would be like and yet here I come and I find the old Citadel repro-

duced. It is reproduced, I am confident, for generations to come for the continuance of this splendid institution and I am happy indeed that you have moved it here to these very fitting surroundings, and that The Citadel is under the command of my old friend General Summerall.

I was glad to be welcomed not only by the Governor and the Mayor but by my old friend Senator Smith, but I was sorry indeed that another old friend of mine, the Junior Senator, Senator Byrnes, could not be here at the same time. I have an idea that Jimmie Byrnes went away so that he would not have to hear fishing stories from me. (Laughter) We have fished together. I am a much better fisherman than he is, only he would never admit it. (Laughter) I could tell you a great many fishing stories, of fishing in Mexican waters and of fishing at the Treasure Island of Cocos in the Pacific Ocean, of fishing near Panama, of fishing down among the San Blas Indians in the Atlantic Ocean, in the Caribbean Sea. I don't know whether you would believe them all or not. I could tell you about fish that got away and about fish that were caught. (Laughter)

We have had a very happy three weeks and I am glad, in coming back here to the Southern Atlantic Coast, to find a very definite evidence of what I found in my trip across the Continent, starting from Washington and going out through the

Middle West, out into the Great Plains country, through the Rocky Mountain States and finally to the Pacific Coast. There was not one dissenting word -- there was general admission that this country was coming back. You could see it with your own eyes.

Today, on landing, I am told the same story about South Carolina.

Yes, we are on our way back -- not just by pure chance, my friends, not just by a turn of the wheel, of the cycle. We are coming back more soundly than ever before because we are planning it that way. Don't let anybody tell you differently.

There are many grave problems ahead. As you know, I spoke in San Diego, in California, three weeks ago today. I spoke in regard to the affairs of the world and I tried to make it clear then, as I continue to make it clear today, that it shall be my earnest effort to keep this country free and unentangled from any possible war that may occur across the seas.

I have come back very much sun-burned, very much full of health and ready to tackle a great many things. I wish I could stay with you longer but I have to be back in Washington tomorrow. I shall always bear with me a very happy recollection of this coming back home, back into our country, and a very happy recollection of all the kind things you have said and that you have done, of your coming out to greet me, of my

opportunity once more to see this historic city, to see those delightful and splendid old homes -- homes that belong not just to you who are fortunate to live in Charleston, but homes and churches and public buildings that belong to all of us Americans, all of us who care for the great traditions of the United States.

I hope you will always keep those homes, keep them for yourselves and keep them for your fellow countrymen as you would keep the splendid traditions of Charleston and the splendid traditions of South Carolina. I know that more and more people all over the United States are going to come to visit you just as your welcome today makes me want to come back every possible chance that I may get. Many thanks.

ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT
1935 Mobilization for Human Needs
October 24, 1935

It is a high privilege once more to appeal to the men, women and children of America for support of another year's Mobilization for Human Needs. I can properly congratulate and thank the country for their splendid response to the appeal for the care of the needy in the years of deep depression from which we are happily and rapidly emerging.

Since I spoke to you at this time last year, in behalf of this great national undertaking, much good has been accomplished, both through private charity of all kinds and through generous assistance by Federal, state and local government authorities.

During the past year the Congress and the Administration have been making provisions for the employment of approximately three and a half million unemployed persons in bona fide jobs, and the coming month will see the great majority of these people at work in the several states.

The Congress has also enacted, and I have signed, the great Social Security Act which establishes for the future the framework for unemployment insurance, for old age assistance and for aid to dependent children. The full force and effect

of the Social Security law cannot, of course, become operative until several years have elapsed, nor will this law in any sense replace the proper and legitimate fields now covered by private contributions to private charities.

I can, however, bring you good news this evening. The results of the September employment survey have just come to me from the Secretary of Labor. During the month of September 350,000 men and women were returned to private employment in the reporting industries of the Nation, and the money in the weekly pay envelopes of these industries was \$12,000,000 greater than their weekly pay envelopes in the previous month of August. This means that the workers in these reporting industries had \$12,000,000 more each week to spend for the necessities of life. Furthermore, these latest and continued gains mean that nearly 5,000,000 men and women have found employment in the reporting private industries since the low point of the depression in March, 1933, and during this same period there has been an increase of over \$104,000,000 per week in the payrolls of these industries.

The September gain is the largest for any single month in the past year and a half. It brings back employment in these industries to the level of November, 1930, and it brings the payrolls back to the level of May, 1931.

Recently I expressed the hope that private industry would strain every nerve to increase their payrolls, increase the number of those whom they employed, and thus take from the Federal Government and their local governments a great share of the burden of relief. The figures which I have cited lead me to a greater confidence that private industry is living up to my hope. We seem to be taking up the slack.

Even those industries which were long backward in showing signs of recovery are putting their best foot forward. The so-called heavy industries, for example, show encouraging signs of improvement. Employment in this so-called durable goods group is now 62% higher than it was in the spring of 1933; their weekly payrolls are 139% greater; and this represents a net increase in employment of 1,185,000 men and women, and a rise of over \$40,000,000 in weekly pay rolls.

I cite all of these figures because they relate to that kind of employment for which the Government has definite statistics. They do not apply to the many other forms of employment of which there is no adequate record. The small retail businesses and the farms of the Nation are not included in the totals of employment and of weekly wages which I have cited, but in their case also it is common knowledge that many thousands of additional men and women have been provided with work.

In direct proportion as the Nation as a whole more greatly receives so is the Nation in a position more greatly to give.

Why, you may ask, if the distress and the unemployment are less, should the giving be greater. The answer is twofold: First of all, it is, I know, your hope and mine that the necessities of Government relief furnished by funds received by taxation should decrease as rapidly as human needs will allow.

But the other reason is of deeper significance, greater importance. There are, as you and I know, hundreds of thousands of men, women and children who require the kind of assistance which private charity and not Government should give. There still remains, and will long remain, a sadly distressed segment of our population, destitute and unprovided for, in the communities of the United States. These are the ones whose plight you, as a good neighbor, go out this week to call to the attention of their more fortunate fellows. It is with them that our private, social agencies are primarily concerned. We know that medical care still needs to be extended to thousands who have not the means to pay for it. We know that great numbers of children still suffer from malnutrition. We know that families separated by economic

circumstance must be reunited and given opportunities to move forward. We know that the hospitals, clinics and day nurseries need and deserve our help; that homes for the aged, for the blind, for the incurable, must carry on their splendid work; that the agencies that build and help the youth of our community must and should expand their splendid work.

But we do want to emphasize that word "work". Neither private charity nor government relief wants to continue to help people who can work but who won't work. There is only one legitimate excuse for the unwillingness to work and that is bad health or advanced age.

It is the duty of private charity and of state and local government agencies to take care of those who for these sound reasons are unable to work and, as I have so often said, it is only the duty of the Federal Government to assist in this type of relief when private and local means come to the end of their tether.

The slogan of the 1935 Mobilization for Human Needs is BE A GOOD NEIGHBOR, and the practical way of being a good neighbor in this year of grace is for each and every one of us to support the splendid private agencies whose work has been so successful in the past. If each and every one of us answers -- by practical giving -- the sound appeal made for the

continuance and growth of local welfare, we shall become the best possible neighbors in our own neighborhoods.

INFORMAL EXTEMPORANEOUS REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
ON THE OCCASION OF THE VISIT TO THE WHITE HOUSE
OF THE MASTER FARMERS GROUP

October 25, 1935 - 3:30 o'clock P.M.

It is grand to see you all. I recall way back in 1928, when I was Governor of the State of New York, making the first awards to Master Farmers. Since then I have attended several of the Master Farmers' banquets both in New York City and at Cornell University.

The Master Farmers movement is well worthwhile. Down here I come in contact with it in other states of the Union and while we have in New York perhaps been more successful in this movement than in any other state, the idea has taken hold practically all over the United States. Even down in Georgia where a Dutchess County farmer tries to raise a little cotton, we have Master Farmers.

We are making, I think, some real progress. Certainly, conditions in general are better than they were although we still have, of course, a good way to go.

But the one interesting thing to me is that the country as a whole is becoming more and more understanding of our general farm problems. They have come to realize that the industrial people in the cities cannot be prosperous unless the farm people of the United States have purchasing power, and that is one of the things we have been trying to get across to people in cities all over the United States for the last two or three years.

One of our problems is to increase the purchasing power of a good many sections of the country where the purchasing power was ex-

tremely low in the old days. We people who come from upstate New York perhaps have very little real realization of what farming means in the agricultural states of the South - that is, the conditions of farm life down there. But we are beginning to understand that in the North in the same way that the farm population of the South is beginning to better their conditions so as to bring themselves up more approximately to our conditions in the North, which, even today, are infinitely better than they are in the South.

Another thing we are trying to get away from - in part by experimentation, because we can't always hit it right the first time - we are trying to get away from the tremendous fluctuations in crop values that the country has gone through over the last 150 years. I always use an example: if a piece of real estate or a farm or a piece of city property were to fluctuate in value 50% one way or 50% another way, we regard that as a very extreme fluctuation. If the clothes that we wear or the shoes we buy were to fluctuate in price 50% up or 50% down, we would think that was a pretty serious thing, and yet nobody has ever really given much thought to the fact that farm prices do not hesitate to fluctuate 300% and 400% and 500% in a very short period of time. You take on the basic crops in this country from 1921 to 1933, in the Spring, the price of, let us say, cotton fluctuated from 28¢ a pound down to 4½¢ a pound to the farmer. The price of wheat fluctuated from between \$1.30 and \$1.40 down to as low as 25¢ or 30¢ a bushel on the farm. Well, 30¢ up to \$1.20 is a fluctuation of 400%. And so it goes.

That is true of dairy products and it is true with respect to almost everything that the farm population has produced in our past

history, and what we are seeking is greater uniformity of price and the avoidance of some of these terrific fluctuations that have made the farm business in this country such a very highly speculative business. The more we can stabilize that business the better it is for the half of the United States which is either directly engaged in agriculture or directly dependent on agriculture.

That is one reason why I am so tremendously keen about the Master Farmers' Organization. You, as Master Farmers, can explain these things and because you are master farmers you will be listened to far more readily than a mere politician like me, or professors of economics like Ed (Eastman), for instance. Are you a professor of economics?

MR. EASTMAN: No sir, I am not.

THE PRESIDENT: Then, like temporary bankers, like Henry Morgenthau, for, I suppose while he is running the treasury of the United States he might be called a temporary banker.

It is fine to see you all. I am here for a few days and am going home to Hyde Park next week, using as an excuse the fact that there are only three rooms at the White House that are in good repair. I am awfully sorry that Mrs. Roosevelt isn't here but she had to go to New York and she has asked Mrs. Helm and her aunt, Mrs. Gray, to give you tea at the White House. Also these grounds, I think they call them the South Grounds of the White House, are open to you and I hope you will go through them and have a very, very good time. I wish I could go out with you myself but I have two or three appointments before I start on the day's mail.

These South Grounds - that is the official name, but we call it the back yard - there are about 14 or 15 acres and they are in substantially the same condition today as they were back in the Civil War days. Before Lincoln's time, the back yard of the White House was not even fenced in except for a rough, wooden fence. Andrew Jackson used to keep his cows and sheep on the lawn. This winter, when we were doing over the White House kitchens which needed to be brought up to modern standards, we excavated under the front porch of the White House and in doing that we went through a brick wall and there we found two stone horse-stalls that were put there during the administration of Andrew Jackson, just a little over a hundred years ago. There was a big stone watering trough with the date on and the initials "A. J."; that is going to be preserved and taken over to the National Museum as an historic memento of Andrew Jackson. So you see in the old days, the White House was not only a White House but also a farm. I wish it could continue to be a farm today.

It is fine to see you all. There are many of you whom I have met before - I would like to shake your hands again and also would like to meet some of you for the first time.

ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT
ARLINGTON NATIONAL CEMETERY, VIRGINIA
November 11, 1935, 11.20 A.M.

Friends and fellow Americans:

The living memory of the World War is close to each and every one of us today. Our thoughts return to great objectives of the past, even as the minds of older men go back to their boyhood's ideals.

We Americans were so placed in those days that we gained a perspective of the great world conflict that was perhaps clearer than that of our fellow-men who were closer to the scene of battle. For most of the first three years of the (War) conflict we were not participants; but during the final phase we ourselves engaged on many fronts.

For that reason perhaps we understood, as well as any, the cries that went up -- that the world conflict should be made a war to end wars. We were not invaded nor were we threatened with invasion then or later; but the very distance of our view led us to perceive the dire results of war through days of following peace.

The primary purpose of (this Nation) the United States of America is to avoid being drawn into war. (Applause)

(It) We seek(s) also in every practicable way to promote peace and to discourage war. (Applause) Except for those few who have placed or who place temporary, selfish gain ahead of national (or) and world peace, the overwhelming mass of American citizens are in hearty accord with these basic policies of our Government, as they are also entirely sympathetic with the efforts of other Nations to avoid and to end war. (Applause)

So, my friends, that is why we too have striven with great consistency to approve steps to remove the causes of war and to disapprove steps taken by others to commit acts of aggression. We have either led or performed our full part in every important attempt to limit and to reduce world armaments. We have sought by definite act and solemn commitment to establish the United States as a good neighbor among nations. We are acting to simplify definitions and facts by calling war "War" when armed invasion and a resulting killing of human beings take place. (Applause)

But though our course is consistent and clear, it is with disappointment and sorrow that (we) most Americans confess that the world's gain thus far has been small.

I would not be frank with you if I did not tell

you that the dangers that confront the future of mankind as a whole are greater to the world and therefore to us than the dangers which confront the people of the United States by and in themselves alone.

Jealousies between nations continue; armaments increase; national ambitions that disturb the world's peace are thrust forward. Most serious of all, international confidence in the sacredness of international contracts is on the wane. (Applause)

The memory of our hopes of 1917 and 1918 dies with the death of those of us who took part: It is, therefore, your sacred obligation and mine, by conscious, definite effort, to pass that memory on to succeeding generations. A new generation, even in its cradle or still unborn, is coming to the fore. The children in our schools, the young men and women passing through our colleges into productive life have, unlike us, no direct knowledge of the meaning of war. They are not immune to the glamour of war, to the opportunities to escape from the drabness and worry of hard times at home in the glory and heroism of the arms factory and the battlefield. Fortunately, there is evidence on every hand that the youth of America,

as a whole, is not trapped by that delusion. They know that elation and prosperity which may come from a new war must lead -- for those who survive it -- to economic and social collapse more sweeping than any we have experienced in the past. While, therefore, we cannot and must not hide our concern for grave world dangers, and while, at the same time, we cannot and must not build walls around ourselves and hide our heads in the sand, we must go forward with all our strength to stress and (to) strive for international peace.

In this effort America must and will protect herself. Under no circumstances will this policy of self protection go to lengths beyond self protection. Aggression on the part of the United States is an impossibility in so far as the present administration of your Government is concerned. Defense against aggression by others -- adequate defense on land, on sea and in air -- is our accepted policy; and the measure of that defense is and will be solely the amount necessary to safeguard us against the armaments of others. The more greatly they decrease their armaments, the more quickly and surely shall we decrease ours.

In many other fields, by word and by deed, we are giving example to the world by removing or lowering barriers which impede friendly intercourse. Our soldier and sailor dead call to us across the years to make our lives effective in building constructively for peace. It is fitting that on this Armistice Day, seventeen years later, I am privileged to tell you that between us and a great neighbor, another act cementing our historic friendship has been agreed upon and is being consummated. Between Canada and the United States exists a neighborliness, a genuine friendship which for over a century has dispelled every passing rift.

Our two peoples, each independent in themselves, are closely knit by ties of blood and a common heritage; our standards of life are substantially the same; our commerce and our economic conditions rest upon the same foundations. Between two such peoples, if we would build constructively for peace and progress, the flow of intercourse should be mutually beneficial and not unduly hampered. Each has much to gain by material profit (and), by spiritual profit, by increased employment through the means of enlarged trade, one with the other.

I am, therefore, happy to be able to tell you (on) almost in celebration of this Armistice Day that the Canadian Prime Minister and I, after thoughtful discussion of our national problems, have reached a definite agreement which will eliminate disagreements and unreasonable restrictions, and thus work to the advantage of both Canada and the United States. (Applause)

I hope that this good example will reach around the world some day, for the power of good example is the strongest force in the world. It surpasses preachments; it excels good resolutions; it is far better than agreements unfulfilled.

If we as a nation, by our good example, can contribute to the peaceful well-being of the fellowship of nations, our course through the years will not have been in vain.

We who survive have profited by the good example of our fellow Americans who gave their lives in war. On these surrounding hills of Virginia they rest -- thousands upon thousands -- in the last bivouac of the dead. Below us, across the river, we see a great capital of a great nation.

The past and the present unite in prayer that America will ever seek the ways of peace, and by her example at home and abroad speed the return of good will among men. (Applause)

INFORMAL EXTEMPORANEOUS REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT
ON THE OCCASION OF THE VISIT TO THE WHITE HOUSE EXECUTIVE OFFICES
OF THE COMMITTEE FROM THE NATIONAL STUDENTS FEDERATION

November 11, 1935

I have written a few words I wanted to read to you, but I wish also you would read what I said out at Arlington about an hour ago. Some of you may have heard it.

On this anniversary of the Armistice, it is heartening to receive a delegation representing more than half a million students from American schools and colleges who are mobilizing today in the interest of peace. Instead of carrying on a meaningless and emotional demonstration, you are studying the economic and social causes of war, as outlined in the document you have just read to me. Perhaps you will succeed in making that word "mobilize," which all too frequently strikes a note of terror in the hearts of the people of Europe, a word of cheer and encouragement in the Americas. You know and I know that the settlement of international disputes can be attained by peaceful means and that there are specific examples of such success in the very recent history of the American Republics.

I particularly like your reference to the need of approaching the problem of maintaining peace in the spirit of sacrifice. The sacrifice that I, as President of the United States, have asked in my Proclamation of Neutrality, may well make unnecessary the supreme sacrifice that I, as Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Navy, might otherwise some day be forced to ask.

Now, that is well worth remembering, I think.

Your visit here today encourages me to believe that I have made it clear to the youth of America that their voice shall be heard and that all the branches of the Federal Government, including the White House, are ready at all times to counsel with you.

Recently, by executive order, I created the National Youth Administration for the purpose of dealing with your emergency relief problems and to assist, in conjunction with other agencies, in developing a long range program for the permanent welfare of youth. My interest in young people is of no recent origin -- I think, so far as personal feelings go, I do not feel very much older than any of you do -- because I have always recognized that the youth of today are our sole investment in tomorrow. Let us guard and nurture that investment so that it may pay rich dividends in the good things of life.

Let me talk off the record for a minute:

We people in this country today, so far as deep thinking goes, I think in the last two or three years we have progressed enormously in regard to international problems. We have a real spirit of peace and we have a real spirit of good-will towards our neighbors.

I don't suppose that anything has been as successful in recent years as the fact that we have sold to Latin America,

for the first time in history, the thought that we were not some big bad wolf trying to eat them up. Of course a lot of people have tried it before but there has always been a suspicion on the part of Latin Americans that the United States had some ulterior motive, and there was ground for that suspicion. In past years we have done all sorts of things. After all, they are a people of great pride. We should have respected that pride yet we have gone in and sent troops to Nicaragua, to Cuba, to Haiti and to Santo Domingo. In fact, that continued up until two years ago, giving them the idea that we had it in back of our minds to expand and take in their territory.

You will remember that the first Congress of my Administration came in in the summer of 1933. I had already outlined the policies of the good neighbor in my Inaugural Address. In August 1933 there were some very serious disturbances in Cuba. Naturally, you can imagine, there was a great deal of pressure on me. We had 4,000 or 5,000 Americans, all scattered over Cuba and there was great pressure on me to send the entire United States fleet down there and upon the least little incident, to land the troops. Well, I took a very long chance and did three things: First of all, I sent word to Americans that if they thought there was any danger up-country, they had better get out to a seaport. Then I sent a lot of small ships, coastguard vessels and destroyers, into all those ports and I gave orders

that they were not to do anything more than take Americans off the beach, if they wanted to be taken off the beach. At the same time I said to the Cuban authorities that they must co-operate with respect to the safety of Americans in the interior of Cuba.

That crisis lasted six weeks. As I remember it, not a single American was killed. At all times we had means there to take them off in case there was serious danger, such as fighting in the streets and so on.

Then there was another incident that showed South America that we meant what we said: I had made arrangements with the President of Haiti that instead of waiting a year to take the marines out of Haiti I would take them out right away. And we did do that. So, from these things, Latin America knows today that we have no motives or designs on South America. The result is that today we have a fine relationship with the South American countries.

Today there are not the same relations between Colombia and Paraguay but, by our example, we are helping to build up a spirit that will enable them to keep out of actual war. In these recent troubles we have managed to keep airplane manufacturers and rifle manufacturers from sending any munitions to those countries.

When we turn to the other side of the picture, the

world, it is a different thing because there they do not think of us as Latin Americans do. They think of us as people on the same Continent. What we can do to prevent over there the militaristic tendencies which are increasing every day that goes by, I do not know, except by the force of example. The more weight that has, the more it is going to help in the world picture. Whether they actually go to war or not or the thing blows over, our example there is going to have a tremendous influence.

We had word this morning from Ottawa that the trade agreement was going to be approved. That means a very large increase in our trade with Canada. Possibly in the course of two or three years our trade with Canada will double -- it will double our trade both ways. That will mean putting people to work. It means jobs for people. It means better prices for products. But, when the details of the agreement come out, it is certain that this or that particular group will say, "Good heavens, it is going to ruin us." Well, let us look into that: One of the items we are going to bring in under this agreement will probably be some agricultural product which will raise the total amount we buy from Canada from 2 per cent to 3 per cent of the total amount of the product that is consumed in this country. In other words, 97 per cent of the product will still be made at home. We are proceeding on the theory that if we bring in

another one per cent of this particular item, that it is going to stimulate trade so much that the consumption in this country of that particular item will go up a good deal more than one per cent. Take one item that my farmer friends in up-state New York are going to kick about -- cream for ice cream: I am giving you these details because they all relate to peace, every one of them. Some of these people will say, "My heavens, a million and a half gallons of cream will be allowed to come into this country on a 35 per cent basis instead of a 50 per cent basis." Now it is perfectly true that a million and a half gallons of cream or 6,000,000 quarts sounds like an awful lot, but actually that cream represents from one-half to three-quarters of one per cent of the cream consumed in this country. That is all; it is a drop in the bucket.

Now, here is the theory: There are a great many items but we can take them all together. If I give the Canadian farmers a chance to ship in a million and a half more gallons than they ship in today, it means our people are going to be able to sell a very large amount of other goods -- automobiles, shoes, etc. That is our theory, the more trade, the more employment.

Of course that all goes with the problem of peace. I hope very much that you will do all you can not only to study these problems but to understand the trade picture. If we confine our plans to the farmers in three counties in northern New York, we

are lost.

In establishing trade relations we are establishing peaceful relations with Canada and the other American Republics and perhaps, some day, European nations will see what we have done and will try to copy us.

It is good to see you and I hope you will try to keep in touch with me and let me know your problems. It is fine to see you.

INFORMAL EXTEMPORANEOUS REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
ON THE OCCASION OF THE VISIT TO THE EXECUTIVE OFFICES OF THE WHITE HOUSE
OF THE STATE COMMISSIONERS OF AGRICULTURE

November 13, 1935

I haven't had a chance to read this Resolution (presented by Dr. Gilbert of the Department of Agriculture). (The President then read the Resolution.)

This is perfectly fine. You come in just after I have had an altercation with the Press. They were referring to some of the speeches made at the Banking Convention down in New Orleans. Some of those bankers wanted the Government to go out of the lending business and I told them the story about a friend of mine up in Dutchess County. He had just bought a good farm and he didn't pay too much for it - it was a very good buy - and he had sixty per cent of the money and he wanted to borrow forty per cent. He went over to the local bank and the best rate he could get was six per cent. So it is the same old story because no matter where he went they offered him that same rate.

Now, I don't want to lend Government money, none of us do, but after all, if the bankers maintain the six per cent rate in the east, and go back to the old custom in the south, around Warm Springs, of ten per cent, and out west of seven, eight, nine and ten per cent, the Government will have to keep on lending money at reasonable rates. Those are some of the things we are trying to do, and I told the newspaper men I didn't see any reason why on adequate farm security we should not get pretty nearly as low a rate of interest as commercial paper gets.

We have made a good many strides - we have saved a good many farms and homes, and what pleases me is that the farm population of the country in the past year have been getting out of debt a little bit. In other words, the debt owed by the farm population is distinctly less than it was a year ago, and the lower we can get that amount the better it is because we know we are bound to have some hard times in the future - crop failures or things like that - and if the total of the farm debt of the country can be reduced to a more reasonable sum, we will be able to tide over future depressions without having to go through the awful days we went through in the past.

I was very much interested in reading this morning - this is strictly between ourselves - an article in the Herald-Tribune by Mark Sullivan, in which he announced flatly that people in the east were farmers, but that people in the west were not farmers, that they were "one-crop specialists", and that people in the south were not farmers, that they were "one-crop specialists". He proved it by citing the case of a young man in Kansas, or Iowa, who put in his wheat in the fall, before the college season opened, and then went to college, and in the spring came back and spent two weeks harvesting his wheat and, having done that, he took his automobile and spent the summer touring the National Parks. (Laughter)

Mark Sullivan, because of that, thinks that people out west and people in the south are not farmers. So I think we will have to invent a new term to please that kind of newspaper writer.

As a matter of fact, the biggest thing that I know of - the biggest progress that has been made is that agriculture as a whole in

this country in the past two or three years has been getting together. You know the old saying was, though none of us believe it, that no two farmers could agree on anything. The extraordinary thing today is that the agricultural population of the country is agreeing. It is an amazing thing. Away back in January, 1933, before I came down here, we had a conference and of course there were three or four different plans for the control of major crops. We tried to get a better price. Wheat was then 35¢ and cotton was $4\frac{1}{2}$ ¢ and corn was about 9¢, and the interesting thing was that we did agree. That doesn't mean that we got the best and final solution, but at least things seem to be working pretty well, and what I have been preaching right along has been the fact that nobody can make money raising crops of any kind if the price fluctuation is as great as it has been in the past twenty years.

I have a chart from one financial paper that shows for an average of ten or twelve crops that the price fluctuation between 1920 and 1932 has been on an average of 450%. Well, if you and I owned a piece of property or owned a first-class bond or mortgage and if that property varied 400% in value, we would be out of luck. But when cotton sells at 28¢ and at $4\frac{1}{2}$ ¢, which is nearly 700%, and wheat sells at \$1.60 and again at 35¢, and when corn sells at a dollar and at 9¢, where do we get off?

And that is why the biggest thing we can do is to get our average prices up to a reasonable level and then, by God, hold them there.
(Applause)

I wish I could take part in your proceedings. I know they would be very interesting.

INFORMAL EXTEMPORANEOUS REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
IN GREETING THE MEMBERS OF THE U. S. CONFERENCE
OF MAYORS AT THE WHITE HOUSE EXECUTIVE OFFICES
November 19, 1935, 4.30 o'clock P.M.

I am very glad to see you down here. Many of you I have known personally for a great many years. With some of you, I have worked on many problems in the past.

I have not prepared any formal speech for your gathering today. I wish, though, that I could have sat in on your meeting to hear what has been said and to learn more about the problems of government.

We have, all of us, I think, learned a great deal about the problems of government, in the broad sense of the word, in the past few years. We have tried experiments -- some of them have been very successful and some of them, like all experiments, have not been quite so successful. Through this process, we are building up, as Mayor Hoan has said, a new relationship -- a perfectly sound relationship between the different branches of government, municipal, state and national.

One of the newspaper men, a few moments ago in the press conference, asked the kind of question you are all asked and I am asked every week, the kind of question

we get rather tired of being asked. Members of the press are present, I know, but I do not mind them hearing this because such questions as this really are silly. The particular question was this: "Is the Government going to stop giving relief next July?" Now, that is the kind of thing we have got to combat in this country -- spreading the word around that everybody who is now on relief is not going to be taken care of starting with the first of July.

My answer was that the Federal Government, and I am sure your answer will be the same for the city governments, did not propose to let people starve after the first of July any more than we have during the past few years.

We are learning also a greater efficiency. Certainly the new work this year, so far as lasting usefulness is concerned, has been infinitely more successful, better planned and better carried out than it was under the old C. W. A. program of the Autumn of 1933. Think what a gain it has been in two years. Go over the lists of projects, both W. P. A. and public works this year, and the percentage of them which will be of lasting benefit to the communities is very, very high. That is something that I think the average citizen in all of your cities appreci-

ates, in spite of various attacks which have been made on these projects.

Of course, in the last analysis, you people who run governments of the cities in this country -- and in the country districts, the supervisors and county commissioners -- are responsible for these projects. You people suggest them and, on the whole, your suggestions with respect to these projects have been extraordinarily good -- a very high percentage, if I may say so. I am perfectly delighted with the usefulness and permanence of these projects.

Well, all of this has come about in the course of less than three years. All of us have learned a lot but we still have a lot to learn. There are various processes of government that can be simplified and ought to be simplified.

For example, and this is not my fault because Congress put it in the bill, I have to sign all the allotments in person. I have signed hundreds, thousands of allotment papers for various projects. Of course, they ought never to come to my desk but we have to go through all kinds of what they call "red tape" because of the law. When such things come in here from the various localities, they have to go through a certain process. They have to go, in part,

to the Director of the Budget, and then they come to me and then they go to the Comptroller General of the United States. There has been a lot of talk about projects being held up for a long time by the Comptroller General but, after all, he is limited in the staff which he can possibly have to pass on these projects and the way he has done it has been perfectly fine. His people are worn to the bone. They have been working day and night but the projects have been coming through and I think some people are going to find in a few weeks that the program as a whole is going to be carried out before the end of November, just as planned away back last Spring.

I would like to say another word on a subject, an important subject, that you and I have in mind. That subject is taxation. As you know, taxes have grown up like Topsy in this country. Of course, there have been a great many efforts to simplify taxation -- to establish lines of demarcation between the different types of taxation, giving certain types to localities, other types to the States and still other types to the Federal Government. But we are all stepping on each other's toes, especially in these past five, ten or fifteen years -- in fact virtually since the beginning of the World War the general tax situation in the United States

has become not only more complicated but has called for revision. We haven't had a revision and I think the time is coming -- not this coming session of Congress because we hope that it will be a very short session -- but by the following year, when all of us can get together and sit around a table and work out a better system of taxation, State, municipal and Federal. I think you can safely assume that late this Winter we are going to ask you to come down and talk about that subject around the table -- I suppose it will be dignified into having the name of a Tax Conference but I would rather keep it informal and get people's views and have it a continuing study which will bring forth some kind of intelligent report some time before the close of the year 1936.

Of course, we don't want to get it mixed up with -- I believe there is an election next Fall. Mayor Hoan has said that this is a non-partisan gathering and we have to keep it so and, in the approaching conference, we have to think of taxation in a non-partisan spirit.

It has been fine to see you all and I hope to see you again next Spring when we can talk a lot more about some things we ought really to talk about. Many thanks for coming.

INFORMAL EXTEMPORANEOUS REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT
AT THE ANNUAL THANKSGIVING DINNER HELD AT GEORGIA HALL
WARM SPRINGS FOUNDATION, WARM SPRINGS, GEORGIA
November 28, 1935, 9 P.M.

(The President spoke following the presentation of the portrait of Dr. Hubbard.)

Members of the Warm Springs family:

This is a great surprise to all of us, I think, except the Committee themselves, and I know that I can speak not only for the old-timers, but for the young-timers, in saying that we, the members of the Warm Springs family, are made very happy in having with us for all time this portrait of our beloved Dr. Hubbard.

It has been the custom, I think, at former dinners, to go back -- I have a guilty feeling myself -- and tell many anecdotes of former years. I am not going to talk about the past tonight except to say that I am awfully glad that there are so many of the original family still with us. May they always come to these annual parties!

We know that many new things have happened. We are sorry that some of the old customs, such as midnight bathing in the fountain, seem to have been discontinued. But there are lots of new things that have happened. We

have the Marines with us and we have lots of fine, new faces and, most important of all, we have started grand opera at Warm Springs. (Applause)

I want to say, tonight, just a word about the present and the future. As you know, our work, year by year, is spreading -- spreading all over the country. This past year we have gone into almost every community of the land and because of a certain Birthday Party that was held last January the good people of this country contributed over a million dollars to the cause of fighting infantile paralysis. It was a fine thing that people did in all of those communities and I think that we should make it very clear that that million dollars, not one penny of it, came to us here at Warm Springs.

Seventy per cent of it, seven hundred thousand dollars, has been used and is being used today to help young people and middle-aged people and old people in getting well in their own respective communities in every State of the Union. And, equally important I think, the other thirty per cent of that splendid gift has been distributed by a very distinguished committee of doctors to be used in a dozen different places in research work to

find out, for the benefit of future generations, how best we can stop in our country the spread of these epidemics that are almost annual occurrences.

One of the members of this Committee mentioned to me the other day, at the White House, that for the first time, so far as he knew, in all medical history, research into one definite known problem is adequately financed and every person, every scientist, who is engaged in this research work has been able to come to this Committee and the Warm Springs Foundation and be given sufficient funds to carry on the work that he is doing.

That is why I feel very happy about the contribution that the Foundation has made and is making to extending our work and fighting one of our most serious epidemic forms of disease in every part of the country.

As to our own problems here, I think you probably know more about them than I do. All I can tell you is that as I come back year after year, unfortunately only once a year nowadays, I find that more improvements have been made and this year is no exception.

I can assure you that the Trustees, and most of them, I am glad to say, are here tonight, that the Trustees are meeting often, are giving their time and their

thought to the program for the future years here at Warm Springs. That is why I am very confident that, in addition to the work we are doing now, as the years go by we are going to do even more important work, not only here but everywhere in this country and, may I say, in Canada too.

There are some new things that I have noticed -- one or two new milestones in our history. For example, the day before yesterday -- the Press cannot use this -- a very important landmark is going down in our chronicles: We got down to the pool the other day after almost everybody else had left and we caught Dr. Mike Hoke taking his first bath. (Applause, laughter)

So now we know that he is properly baptized.

I am glad I am going to be with you another ten days. This has been a very wonderful trip and a very wonderful Thanksgiving dinner for me. I want to thank, in behalf of all of us, the good ladies headed by Mrs. Hoke who have made the decorations of this room so very delightful tonight. This is a real family party. It still breathes a certain something which newcomers do not quite understand until they have been here for a week or two -- but it gets

them all -- the old spirit of Warm Springs. (Applause)

And now, in accordance with a very old custom,
I am going to stand by the door because I want to shake
hands with you as you go out.

INFORMAL EXTEMPORANEOUS REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT
TO THE SCHOOL CHILDREN OF ATLANTA
PIEDMONT PARK, ATLANTA, GEORGIA
November 29, 1935, 12.35 P.M.

This is a wonderful reception that you have given me. I am here to extend my greetings through you to all of the boys and girls of Georgia.

I am glad you sang "My Country 'Tis of Thee", and I am glad you repeated that fine oath of allegiance to the United States. Good-bye. (Prolonged applause)

ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT

GRANT FIELD, ATLANTA, GEORGIA

Friday, November 29, 1935, 1.15 P.M.

(The President, before entering Grant Field, unveiled a tablet on Public Works Project No. H-1101, in front of Grant Field.

There were about 60,000 people present in the field, most of whom had stayed through a shower which preceded the President's visit.

Senator Russell introduced Senator George, who, in turn, introduced the President.)

My Friends and Neighbors:

I do not need to tell you that I am happy to be in Georgia, nor do I need to tell you that I am proud of Georgia. (Applause) Happy especially today because of this moving reception which my friends, the Senators and all of the Representatives in the Congress from this State have tendered me, and which you, the good people of this State, have responded to with such warmth and hospitality. Happy because I meet again so many old friends and neighbors. Proud because I see signs on every hand that the overwhelming majority of the people of this State are keeping pace with the millions of others throughout the Nation who believe in progress, are

willing to work for progress and are going to get progress. Proud because I see clear signs of a revival of material prosperity in country and in city, and especially because I sense a swelling prosperity of the spirit that spells a greater help and a deeper happiness for our fellow men.

Eleven years ago I came to live at Warm Springs for the first time. That was a period of great so-called prosperity. But I would not go back to the conditions of 1924, and I do not believe that you people would want to go back (either) to those conditions either. (Audience: "No, no.") Of that year and of the five years that followed, I have a clear recollection which you can verify for yourselves. In that orgy of "prosperity" a wild speculation was building speculative profits for the speculators and preparing the way for you, the public, to be left "holding the bag." In that orgy of "prosperity" banks, individually and by chains, were closing their doors at the expense of the depositors. In that orgy of "prosperity" the farmers of the South had become involuntary speculators themselves, never certain when they planted their cotton whether it would bring twenty-five cents or fifteen cents or (five cents) a nickel. In that orgy of "prosperity" the poorest vied with the richest in throwing their earnings and their savings into a cauldron of land and stock speculation. In that orgy of "prosperity" slum conditions went unheeded, better education was (forgotten)

neglected, usurious interest charges mounted, child labor continued, starvation wages were too often the rule instead of the exception. Yes, in those days Mammon ruled America and that is why we are not going back to them. (Applause)

Those are the years for us to remember in the future -- those fool's paradise years before the crash came. Too much do we harp on the years that followed, when from 1929 to 1933 this whole Nation slipped spirally downward -- ever downward -- to the inevitable point when the mechanics of civilization came to a dead stop on March 3, 1933. (Applause)

You and I need not rehearse the four years of disaster and gloom. We know the simple fact that at the end of (them) those four years America acted before it was too late. (that we) America turned about and by a supreme, well-nigh unanimous national effort, started on the upward path again. (Applause)

You and I have reason to remember the past two and a half years that have gone by so quickly, reason to remember the fine spirit of the average of American citizenship which made my task vastly lighter. Memory is short but yours is not too short to recollect, for example, those great meetings of the representatives of the farmers, regionally and in Washington, in the spring and summer of 1933, when they agreed overwhelmingly that unfairly low prices for farm crops could never be raised to and maintained at a reasonable level until and unless the Government of the United States acted

to help them to reduce the tremendous carry-overs and surpluses which threatened us and the whole world. (Applause)

You and I can well remember the overwhelming demand that the National Government come to the rescue of the home owners and (the) farm owners of the Nation who were losing the roofs over their heads through inflated valuations and exorbitant rates of interest.

You and I still recollect the need for and the successful attainment of a banking policy which not only opened the closed banks but guaranteed the deposits of the depositors of the Nation. (Applause)

You and I have not forgotten the enthusiastic support that succeeded, and still, I am glad to say, in large part succeeds, in ending the labor of children in mills and factories, in seeking a fairer wage level for those on starvation pay and in giving to the workers hope for the right collectively to bargain with their employers. (Applause)

You and I will not forget the long struggle to put an end to the indiscriminate distribution of "fly-by-night" securities, and to provide fair regulation of the Stock Exchanges and of the great interstate public utility companies of our country. (Applause)

You and I -- yes, every individual and every family in the whole land -- are being brought close to that supreme achievement of (the present) this great Congress -- the Social

Security law which, in days to come, will provide the aged against distressing want, will set up a national system of insurance for the unemployed and will extend well-merited care to sick and crippled children. (Applause)

You and I are enlisted today in a great crusade in every part of the land to cooperate with Nature and not to fight (her) Nature, to cooperate, to stop destructive floods, to prevent dust storms (and the), to prevent the washing away of our precious soils, to grow trees, to give thousands of farm families a chance to live, and to seek to provide more and better food for the city dwellers of the Nation.

In this connection it is, I think, of interest to point out that national surveys that have been conducted in the past year or two prove that the average of -- to tell you a story, the (our) citizenship of the United States lives today on what our friends, the doctors, would (be) call(ed) by the Medical Fraternity) a third-class diet. If the country lived on a second-class diet instead of a third-class diet, do you know what that would mean? It would mean we would need to put many more acres than we use today back into the production of foodstuffs for domestic consumption. If the Nation lived, as I wish it did, on a first-class diet, we would have to put more acres than we have ever cultivated into the production of an additional supply (of things) for Americans to eat. That raises a question:

Why, speaking in broad terms in following up this particular illustration, why are we living on a third-class diet? Well, the best answer I know is this: For the very simple reason that the masses of the American people have not got the purchasing power to eat more and better food. (Applause)

I mentioned a few weeks ago that farm income in the United States has risen since 1932 a total of nearly three billion(s) dollars. That is because wheat is selling at better than 90 cents instead of 32 cents; that corn is selling at 50 cents instead of 12 cents; cotton is at 12 cents instead of (at) 4½ cents. (Applause) (and other crops in proportion) I wonder what cotton would be selling at today if during these past three years we had continued to produce fifteen or sixteen or seventeen million bales each year, adding to our own surplus, adding to the world surplus, and driving the cotton farmers of the Southland into bankruptcy and starvation. But what does this (the) additional three billions of farmers income (has meant) mean to the country? What does it mean to the dwellers in the city? It has meant the rebirth of city business, the reopening of closed factories, the doubling of automobile production, the improvement of transportation and the giving of new employment to millions (of people) of Americans.

That brings us squarely face to face, and you too, with

the fact of the continued unemployment of many millions (persons) of people of whom approximately three and a half million people are employable(s) people, but who cannot get jobs and are in need of relief. When some of the people of a great and wealthy country are suffering from starvation (an) I take it that no honest Government has (no) a choice. (At first, realizing) over three years ago, realizing in the beginning, that we were not doing a perfect thing but that we were doing a necessary saving and human thing, we appropriated money for direct relief. That was necessary, as you and I know, to ward off actual starvation. But, just as quickly as possible, we turned to the job of providing actual work for those in need. (Applause)

I can realize that gentlemen in well-warmed and well-stocked clubs will discourse on the expenses of Government and the suffering that they are going through because their Government is spending money for work relief. (Applause) I wish I could take some of these men out on the battle-line of human necessity and show them the facts that we in the Government are facing. If these more fortunate Americans will come with me, I will not only show them the necessity for the expenditures of this Government, but I will show them, as well, the definite and beneficial results we have attained with the dollars we have spent. (Applause) Some of these same gentlemen tell me that a dole would be more economical than work relief. That is true. But the men who tell me

that have, unfortunately, too little contact with the true Americans to realize that in this business of relief we are dealing with properly self-respecting Americans to whom a mere dole outrages every instinct of individual independence. (Applause) I believe most Americans want to give something for what they get. (Applause) That something, which in this case is honest work, is the saving barrier between them and moral disintegration. (We) I propose to build that barrier high and keep it high.

Let me talk some more about money.

Last April I stated to the Congress what I have held to consistently ever since -- that it was the hope of the Administration that by sometime in November of this year we would substantially end the dole and offer in place of it employment to, by far, the greater part of the three and a half million employable persons we estimated (to be) were on (the) relief rolls in the United States.

Week after week (since then) from that time on some individuals and some organizations and some groups, careless of the truth (and), regardless of scruple, have sought to make the American people believe that this program was a hopeless failure and that it could not possibly succeed.

Today is the twenty-ninth day of November. Two days ago something happened. It gives me a certain satisfaction to be able to inform you, and through you the Nation, that

(on Wednesday) two days ago by actual figures there were three million one hundred and twenty-five thousand persons at work on (various useful projects throughout the nation) a great variety of useful projects in every State of the Union. The small remaining number have received orders to report to work on projects already under way or (ready) about to be started. (This) that result, I believe you will agree with me, constitutes a substantial and successful national achievement. (Applause)

Aside from the tremendous increase in morale through substituting work for a dole, there is the practical side of permanent material benefit. Within sight of us (today) -- just around the corner (laughter) -- you see, now we know how to go around the corner -- there stands a tribute to useful work under Government supervision -- the first slum clearance and low-rent housing project. Here, at the request of the citizens of Atlanta, we have cleaned out nine square blocks of antiquated squalid (dwellings) buildings, for years a detriment to this community. Today those hopeless old houses are gone and in their place we see the bright cheerful buildings of the Techwood Housing Project. (Applause) Within a very short time, people who never before could get a decent roof over their heads will live here in reasonable comfort amid healthful, worthwhile surroundings; others will find similar homes in Atlanta's second slum

clearance project, the University Project; and still others will find similar opportunity in nearly all of the older, overcrowded cities of the United States.

I take it that it has been equally worthwhile to the Nation to give jobs to the unemployed in the construction of a vast network of highways, including thousands of miles of farm-to-market roads, in repairing great numbers of schools and building hundreds of new (ones) schools in city and country, in helping cities to put in sewers and (sewage) disposal plants and water works; in constructing cold storage warehouses, (and) county recreational buildings; in creating aviation fields; in giving a million boys a chance to go to CCC camps and to work on forestry and (on) soil erosion prevention; (applause) in controlling malaria; in pushing health projects; in putting white collar workers into jobs of permanent usefulness to their communities, and, last but not least, in giving youth an opportunity for better education. (Applause)

My friends, into the ears of many of you have been dinned the cry that your Government is piling up an unconscionable and back-breaking debt. Let me tell you a simple story: In the Spring of 1933 many of the great bankers of the United States flocked to Washington. They were there to get the help of their Government in the saving of their banks from insolvency. To them I pointed out, in all fairness,

the simple fact that you could not make bread without flour,
the simple fact that the Government would be compelled to go
heavily into debt for a few years to come, in order to save
banks and save insurance companies and mortgage companies,
and railroads, and to take care of millions of people who
were on the verge of starvation. Every one of these gentle-
men expressed to me at that time the firm conviction that
it was all well worth the price and that they heartily
approved. (Applause)

But I did not stop there. In order to get their further
judgment, (however) I asked them what they thought the maxi-
mum national debt of the United States Government could rise
to without serious danger to the national credit. Their
answers, remember this was in the Spring of 1933, were that
the country could safely stand a national debt of between
fifty-five and seventy billion dollars. (Applause) I told
them that a rise in the national debt to any such figure
was, in my judgment, wholly unnecessary, and that even if
they, the bankers, were willing I could not and would not
go along with them. (Applause) I told them then that only
a moderate increase in the debt for the next few years seemed
likely and justified. That objective holds good today; but
remember (that) at that time many bankers and big business
men would have been willing to put the country far deeper
into debt than I shall ever let it go. (Applause)

And by way of parentheses, if the bankers thought the country could stand a debt of fifty-five to seventy billion dollars in 1933, with values as they were then, I wonder what they would say the country could stand today, in the light of an enormous increase of values of property. (Applause) (of all kinds all along the line since 1933).

Let us make one thing clear: Your Government says to you: "You cannot borrow your way out of debt; but you can invest your way into a sounder future". (Applause)

As a matter of actual fact, (of course), the gross national debt under the last Administration rose from a little over seventeen billions -- billions, get that, not millions -- to twenty-one billions. The day I came into office I found that the national Treasury contained only \$158,000,000, or, at the rate of previously authorized expenditures under the last Administration, I found enough money in the (enough to last the Treasury to last less than a month. Since that time, March 4, 1933, the national debt has risen -- of course it has risen, and you know why -- from 21 billions to 29½ billions, but it must also be remembered that today, included in this figure there is nearly 1½ billions of working balance in the Treasury of the United States and nearly 4½ billion dollars of recoverable assets which the Government (will get back over a period of years, and which will be used for the retirement of debt) is going to get back over a period of years and as we get it

back we are going to retire the national debt with it.

As things stand today, (and) in the light of a definite and continuing economic improvement, we have passed the peak of appropriations; revenues without the imposition of new taxes are increasing, and we can look forward with assurance to a decreasing deficit. The credit of the Government is today higher than that of any other great nation in the world (applause), it is higher in spite of attacks on that credit made by those few individuals and organizations which seek to dictate to the Administration and to the Congress how to run the National Treasury and how to let the needy starve. (Applause)

Back in (the) that same Spring of 1933, if you and I had made a national balance sheet, I mean a balance sheet based on what the individual people of the country owned and owed, we would have found that if we had added up the values of all of the property of every kind in the United States (owned by American citizens), the total of those values, which (we) you and I would call assets, would have been greatly exceeded by the figure representing the total of all the debts owed by the people of the United States. In other words, (at that time our national balance sheet) in March 1933 our national balance sheet, the wealth (versus) on the one side against the debts of the American public, showed that we were in the red. Today (less than three years) two and a half years later,

it is a fact that the total of (all) the debts in the United States is lower than it was then. (Whereas) and on the other side of the picture, you and I know that the values of property of all kinds -- farms, houses, automobiles, securities and every other kind of property have increased so greatly since 1933, that today we are once more in the black. We were insolvent: Today we are solvent, and we are going to stay so. (Applause)

In this fact, especially in the fact that we are gathered here today at a time of National Thanksgiving, all of us can, I think rightly, (most of us) find a deep satisfaction. But recovery means something more than getting the country back into the black. You and I do not want just to go back to the past. We want to face the future in the belief that human beings can enjoy more of the good things of life, under better conditions, than human beings ever enjoyed in the past. (Applause) American life has improved in these two years and a half, and if I have anything to do with it, it is going to improve more in the days to come. (Applause) The word "progress" is a better word than "recovery," (for it) because progress means not only a sound business and a sound agriculture, sound from the material point of view, but it means, with equal importance, a sound improvement in American life as a result of continuing and forceful effort on the part of our people of our nation and, through them, on the

part of (their) the Government of the nation. I am certain, my friends, that that is your purpose; (and) you have my assurance that it is mine and that is why I continue my confidence, my faith, everlasting faith, in the people of America. (Prolonged applause)

INFORMAL EXTEMPORANEOUS REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT
ATLANTA UNIVERSITY, ATLANTA, GEORGIA
November 29, 1935, 2.10 P.M.

I am glad to greet all of you boys and girls.

I am sorry that I haven't the time to see this great University housing project that is going up a couple of blocks from here, but when it is finished I hope to come back and see it because, as you know, we are all of us working to provide better homes for the American people to live in. (Applause)

Good-bye. (Prolonged applause)

ADDRESS BY THE PRESIDENT OVER THE TELEPHONE
FROM WARM SPRINGS, GEORGIA TO NEW YORK, NEW YORK
ON THE OCCASION OF THE DEDICATION OF THE NEW BUILDING,
FOUNDATION FOR THE BLIND, NEW YORK

December 5, 1935, 2.30 P.M.

I am very glad to send my greetings to you, the friends of the American Foundation of the Blind, in the dedication of the new Administration Building in New York. I would like to be with you but, as you know, I am a thousand miles away, down in Georgia.

I wish I could be present at the dedication of this new building that means so much in the carrying out of the great work in which we are all so much interested.

It is a privilege to have a part in aiding the betterment of conditions for those who have been handicapped by lack of vision and, when I say lack of vision, I mean it in the purely physical sense because people who are blind certainly have a splendid vision in every other way.

Personally, I am proud of my association with Miss Keller, with President Migel and Robert Owen and all the rest of you who are giving so freely of your time and talents.

You have my sincere congratulations and a pledge to do all I can in furthering this great philanthropy.

INFORMAL EXTEMPORANEOUS REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT
CCC CAMP AT WARM SPRINGS, GEORGIA
December 7, 1935, 10.40 A.M.

I see this has become a really historic camp. You have been kept going here about as long as any camp in the United States, and I hope very much that we can find enough work to keep this camp going for a couple of years.

I talked to you last year and the year before about yourselves -- about the look in your faces and the good it has done to you.

I just want to say a word to you today about the good that you are doing for other people.

I have seen the work that this camp and the Chipley Camp has performed in the last couple of years. You are rendering a real service, not only to this community but to this part of the State and the whole State. It is permanent work, it is work that is going to be useful for a good many generations to come. That is why, one reason why, the people of the country as a whole believe in the Civilian Conservation Corps and, even when times get better as they are getting better, we are going to manage some way to dig up enough money in the

Federal Treasury to keep the CCC going as a permanent institution.

It is good to see all of you.

(The President then shook hands with the officers of the Camp and then, at his own request, shook hands with the cook, saying, "They are the most important people in the Camp. Seriously, do you get pretty good chow down here?" Captain Buckley replied, "Very good." The President then said, "I think Russell (Wood) gets it up here and down there too. He gets about six meals a day and he looks it."

The President then talked about the extension of some of the buildings, etc.)

INFORMAL EXTEMPORANEOUS REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT
TO THE ORTHOPEDIC SURGEONS VISITING
WARM SPRINGS FOUNDATION
AT THE PATIENTS' SWIMMING POOL
December 7, 1935, 11 A.M.

I wish you had seen this building ten years ago. It was a perfectly good down-at-the-heel summer resort and nothing else.

Did you ever hear the story of how the first patients came down here? In the Summer or Spring before I came down my doctor had told me that he was finding that his patients who were swimming in Long Island Sound and in places where they could stay in the water a longer time, were showing a little more improvement than those who went up further North in places where they could not swim for long periods on account of the cold water. He told me that he was going to try the effect of exercising in warm water.

Well, he went abroad and died on the other side that Summer, and that Fall I heard about Warm Springs, I heard some very good reports about it, and I thought I would try it out and at least come down for a rest. I found that I could move about and exercise a good deal better in this water than any other place and the following

Spring a couple of newspaper men came down here from Atlanta and they wanted a political story. One of them wrote a special feature story that went all through the country, in the Sunday papers. It was headed, "Annette Kellerman and Franklin Roosevelt swim their way back to health." Of course, that had nothing to do with it. I was furious and wanted to sue him for libel and everything else but, by gosh, within two weeks they began to arrive, and twenty-one Polio cases came and there wasn't a doctor, there wasn't anything down here. The place wasn't opened in the Spring of 1925. We were all upset by it. At the time the place was run by a Georgia editor, Tom Loyless. It was in an awful condition.

Fred Botts was one of those patients, and when he got here I took one look at him and thought he had an advanced case of T.B., so I sent over to Manchester for a doctor, Dr. Johnson, who was a general practitioner, and I said, "My God, we are not going to let this fellow go into the outdoor pool until we check on him." So Dr. Johnson came over and checked on him and found it was merely a case of undernourishment, and he checked on the others, and we put them in life preservers and got

them all to kicking around in the pool.

In the following Spring, 1926, the Orthopedic Association met in Atlanta. Dr. Hoke was President that year and I went up there and, of course, they could not do anything officially, but I asked their permission to suggest the appointment of an advisory committee which Dr. Frederick (?) headed and, as a result of the appointment of that Advisory Committee, we started in the Summer to experiment down here.

We did not know much, we did not know how to go about the thing, and so we got Dr. Hubbard to come down here and also one physio-therapist.

Well, we ran that experiment in the Summer of 1926. It was terribly crowded. All we could do was to check on nourishment and do a certain amount of plaster cast work. From that time on, which is somewhat less than ten years ago, see what has happened!

But the important point is that people all over the country know about what we are doing and are following our example in their own communities. My whole objective was to make the country as conscious about Polio as it is about T.B.. Everything that you people can do

and have done to help spread the gospel is all right.

It is good to see you all.

INFORMAL EXTEMPORANEOUS REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT
FROM THE REAR PLATFORM OF HIS SPECIAL TRAIN
EN ROUTE, WARM SPRINGS, GEORGIA, TO CHICAGO, ILLINOIS
CHATTANOOGA, TENNESSEE, December 8, 1935, 5.53 P.M.

(The band played, "Hail to the Chief" and the
National Anthem. The Mayor then introduced
The President.)

I am very glad to come here but I am sorry that
it is after dark and that I cannot stay a great deal longer.

I feel that I have a great deal more familiarity
with Chattanooga and this section of Tennessee than I have
any right to assume because of very much first-hand ac-
quaintance. The reason is that a very good friend of mine
and a very good friend of yours, the Congressman from Chat-
tanooga. (Applause) Hardly a week goes by but that he
comes down to my office with a large map (laughter) - a map
showing all sorts of new highways and all sorts of new dams
and all sorts of other things.

I don't have to tell you of my interest in this
State and in this section and in this City, because in the
Tennessee Valley the nation as a whole is conducting -- I
hate to call it an experiment because it has got beyond
that stage -- it is conducting a great humanitarian work

EXTEMPORANEOUS REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT AT THE
LUNCHEON GIVEN AT THE SADDLE AND BIRLOIN CLUB,
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

December 9, 1935, 12.15 P.M.

Mayor Kelly, Governor Horner, my friends:

It was a very generous welcome you have given me. I have had a most delightful stay. I wish it were longer and that the train were not going in ten minutes, but if I had stayed longer the Postmaster General and I would have asked for just one more steak.

One of my greatest responsibilities in Washington is looking after the figures of the members of the Cabinet.

I am glad the Mayor has spoken as he has about Chicago, but there is a great deal more he could have said. Chicago, more than almost any other city in the country, is a veritable crossroads -- a place where all the elements of the Nation meet. The stockyards form one of the focal points of that crossroads. That is why the people of this great city have as good an opportunity as any people in the Nation to see a cross-section of the Nation. You see the industrial factors, the labor factors, the agricultural factors, the transportation factors.

As you know, we are trying to weld all those factors into a more unified whole. We are trying to prevent any one

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As you know, we are trying to weld all those factors into a more unified whole. We are trying to prevent any one

of them from growing at the expense of the other. We want all of them to grow in the same proportion, with that proportion based, of course, on the needs of the whole country.

Up to recently we were, in a large sense, a pioneering nation, trying out many new fields of endeavor in virgin territory. That is why some of the things that are being attempted by government -- not just the Government in Washington, but also the state and city governments -- are concerned with new problems, new problems that have come with the rounding out of the Nation.

I suppose, to use a very simple example, that I am working personally on a problem which will affect Chicago. Down in Georgia I have a few acres of very cheap land and on that land I am trying to grow beef cattle. That is one of the things that shows that we in this country are developing new lines of thought. Probably my beef cattle will never see Chicago but, to carry the illustration a little farther, think what has been done with cattle and hogs. Think of the livestock of the United States a hundred years ago. Stack up any of the beef cattle or any of the hogs of that period against the average run that you get in this city every day. We have shown over that period of years that we can round out cattle and hogs through unified national effort. We have improved the breed

and we are continuing to improve the breed -- not only of livestock but of human beings as well.

We are seeking to give certain advantages to a whole lot of people in this country who are underprivileged. And the simple way of describing what we -- the government of all kinds throughout the country -- are trying to do is simply to try to help the underprivileged, because by helping them we know that we will also help those people who have more of the good things in life.

I am very proud of the people as a whole, regardless of party, though I suppose in a campaign year a lot of people will not think so. But it actually goes deeper than mere party -- it goes down to some of the basic things that we in the greatest country in the world, are trying to do for humanity. In doing it, in helping ourselves make our own country better, we are doing the only thing we can possibly do to help the rest of the world.

You and I know that we have no intention of getting mixed up in the ward of the rest of the world, so about the only thing that is left for us to do is to set for them an example, with the hope that when they see the road we are travelling as a great nation of 125 million people, they will stop their local and their international quarrels and squabbles, and take a leaf out of the notebook of the United States.

I want to tell you all again how happy I am to have been here today. This has been a wonderful gathering, both the one of the farmers and this one where I see so many distinguished citizens of this great city and great state.

I love to come to Chicago. I have been here, as you know, many times before, and I am coming back again very soon.

ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT
NOTRE DAME UNIVERSITY, NOTRE DAME, INDIANA

Monday, December 9, 1935, 3.30 P.M.

Cardinal Mundelin, President O'Hara, you, the members of the great Notre Dame family, of whom I am proud and happy to become a part today:

In acknowledging the honor which through the granting of this Degree the University of Notre Dame confers upon me, I wish first personally to thank your President, the Very Reverend John F. O'Hara, and all the members of your faculty. (Applause) And I cannot without feeling a little choke in my voice thank my old friend, His Eminence Cardinal Mundelin. I deeply appreciate the honor and the accompanying citation. You know, one in public life learns that personally he can never be worthy of the honors that come to him as an official of the United States Government. But it is equally true that I am most happy to be so honored. The honor places upon me an additional obligation to try to live up to the citation -- both for the sake of my country and, also, as a new Alumnus of the University of Notre Dame. (Applause) I am (glad) especially happy to take part in this special convocation called to honor the new Commonwealth of the Philippines. And I am especially privileged to have heard that brilliant address of Mr. Romulo, who so well represents his Commonwealth. (Applause)

It cannot seem so long because even I remember it
and yet it is (almost) forty years (ago) since the United States took over the sovereignty of the Philippine Islands. The acceptance of sovereignty was but an obligation to serve the people of the Philippines until the day they might themselves be independent and take their own place among the nations of the world.

We are here to welcome the Commonwealth. I consider it one of the happiest events (of) in my office as President of the United States to have signed in the name of the United States the instrument which will give national freedom to the Philippine people.

The time is not given to me to recite the history of these forty years. That history reveals one of the most extraordinary examples of national cooperation, national adjustment and national independence the world has ever witnessed. It is a tribute to the genius of the Philippine people. Subject to the government of a country other than their own, they generously adjusted themselves to conditions often not to their liking; they patiently waited; they forfeited none of that freedom, that essential freedom which is natively theirs as a people, a freedom (and) which they have so definitely expressed with due regard for fundamental human rights in their new constitution.

We have a clear right also to congratulate ourselves

in our country as a people because in the long run we have chosen the right course with respect to the Philippine Islands. Through our power we have not sought our power (own). Through our power we have sought to benefit others. (Applause)

That both nations kept to the policy leading to this most happy (result) event is due to the fact that both nations have the deepest respect for the inalienable rights of man. These rights were specifically championed more than a century and a half ago in our own Declaration of Independence. (Those same rights are) And again they have been championed within a few months in the new Constitution of the Philippine Commonwealth, a Constitution which I would like to have read and learned about in every school and college of the United States.

No, there can be no true national life either within a nation itself or between that nation and other nations unless there be the specific acknowledgment of, and the support of organic law to, the rights of man. Supreme among those rights we, and now the Philippine Commonwealth, hold to be the rights of freedom of education and freedom of religious worship. (Applause)

This University from which we send our welcome to the new Commonwealth exemplifies the principles of which I speak. Through the history of this great Middle West -- its first

explorers and first missionaries -- Joliet, Marquette, (De) La Salle, Hennepin -- its lone eagle, Father Badin, who is buried here -- its apostolic father Sorin, founder of the University of Notre Dame (University) -- its zealous missionaries of other faiths -- its pioneers of varied nationalities -- all have contributed to the upbuilding of our country because all have subscribed to these fundamental principles of freedom -- freedom of education, freedom of worship.

Long ago, George Mason in the Virginia Declaration of Rights voiced what has become one of the deepest convictions of the American people: "Religion, or the duty which we owe to our Creator, and the manner of discharging it, can be directed only by reason and conviction, not by force or violence, and therefore all men are equally entitled to the free exercise of religion according to the dictates of conscience." (Applause)

In the conflict of policies and of political systems of old kinds and of new fanatical (?) kinds which the world today witnesses, the United States has held forth for its own guidance and for the guidance of other nations if they will accept it, this great torch of liberty of human thought, liberty of human conscience. We will never lower it. We will never permit, if we can help it, the light to grow dim. Rather through every means legitimately within our power and

our office, we will seek to increase that light, that its rays may extend the farther; that its glory may be seen even from afar. (Applause)

Every vindication of the sanctity of these rights at home; every prayer that other nations may accept them, is an indication of how virile, how living, how permanent they are in the hearts of every true American.

Of their own initiative, by their own appreciation, the Philippine Commonwealth has now also championed them before all the world. Through the favor of Divine Providence may they be blessed as a people with prosperity. More important, may they grow in grace through their own Constitution to the peace, to the good of the (and) well-being of the whole world.

(The following was delivered extemporaneously:) And so let me say, as I leave you, that I am happy to be here today, that I am proud of the great distinction which you have conferred upon me and may I tell you that I was more touched than anything else by the little word of the President of Notre Dame when he said that I will be in your prayers. I appreciate that. I trust that I may be in your prayers. (Prolonged applause)

INFORMAL EXTEMPORANEOUS REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT

TOLEDO, OHIO

December 9, 1935, 7.00 P.M.

(There were about 3,000 people at the station.)

It is very good of you people to come down here tonight.

I have not been in Toledo since 1928, before I first ran for Governor of New York. But I have been very much interested, during these past couple of years -- three or four years -- in the many trials that you have had to go through.

You went through the worst banking experience of any city of the nation and you have gone through other troubles but you can always remember that there is somebody down in Washington who knows of your existence. (Applause) I was very glad when we were able to help you in some measure in getting the banks open and also helping to settle some of the industrial troubles that later on came to the city. After all, we are all part of a very big country and, as you know, we are trying to get average justice for the average man and woman in every part of that country. That is why I wish I can come here some day -- perhaps I will be able to soon -- and talk things over with you good people of Toledo.

I am glad to be back in Ohio because I have a great many acquaintances and friends in this State, both in the

cities and in the agricultural parts of the State.

Quite regardless of politics -- I mean party politics, -- I am very certain that the country as a whole is going on to better things than we have today.

We have to have faith in ourselves. We have to understand that cooperation of all the groups, of all the elements of the population, is the biggest thing we can get and we are going ahead, through cooperation, to better living conditions and a greater human happiness, I think, than we have ever had before. (Applause)

I have had a great day today. Thank you all. (Prolonged applause)

INFORMAL EXTEMPORANEOUS REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT
ON THE OCCASION OF THE VISIT TO THE
WHITE HOUSE EXECUTIVE OFFICES OF
THIRTY-SIX STATE SUPERINTENDENTS OF EDUCATION
Wednesday, December 11, 1935, 2.15 P.M.

(The Superintendents of Education were accompanied by Dr. Studebaker, who introduced them to the President.)

I am awfully glad you are meeting down here. I am not going to make a speech to you. All I can tell you is that I have been trying to keep in touch with our mutual problems because I got to know the State problems during four years up in Albany. I did think that we had accomplished a great deal, but I know that we have to go a long way. That applies not only to New York but to every other State. We have only scratched the surface.

I had a very nice lunch the other day with the Superintendent of Schools of the State of Iowa and we talked about some of our problems. Of course, one thing that has handicapped us and which has made it difficult to go ahead, as you realize, is that the work has been confined of necessity and by law, both, to relief. It has been, of necessity, on a relief basis. All appropriations which have been made have had that one single objective which was relief.

Now, however, I have stretched the law tremendously. I knew that the use of relief funds, for instance, for the building of schoolhouses and the repair of schoolhouses, on which we have spent a great many millions of dollars all over the country, would help the physical side. But, I frankly did stretch the law when it came to some other things, such as the employment of teachers who are on the relief rolls, although that was a perfectly obvious thing to do. Helping boys and girls to attend high schools and colleges, that was stretching the law just a little bit; however, we took care of quite a number of them.

I would like to give you some of the figures to show what we have done. There were forty-three thousand teachers given work in the emergency education program. More than five hundred thousand men and women were taught reading and writing. As I said the other day, one of the things that a great Senator from Louisiana actually accomplished in the great State of Louisiana was teaching adults to read and write, and that was one reason for his very great popularity in his own State, which cannot be disputed.

Helping five hundred thousand people to read and write is something but, again, it is only just scratching

the surface. That is why, in planning for the future, I think we have all got to work out a mutual program.

For instance, just a few more figures, in the school year 1933-34, there were fourteen and a half million dollars provided in thirteen states to keep the rural schools open, and in 1934-35, seven million dollars was provided in sixteen states.

And now we are going ahead with certain other things which Dr. Studebaker and I are trying to put in as what might be called "entering wedges" -- I think that is the easiest term to use. They are entering wedges and are comparatively small so far as the total expenditure of money goes. But, looking at the problem as a whole, we are gradually working, I think, toward a greater national interest and an understanding in the great many things that the national Government can properly do. But it takes education before we can get that kind of thing through Congress -- another place we have to start education -- that is off the record, Kannee.

Of course, we are trying to cut down the Budget -- that is another problem; we are trying to keep the relief part of the Budget as low as we possibly can but, in these

entering wedges we have started for the general education program I think we are going to go a long way, and that is why I am asking you to be kind to me and not to expect too much in a year.

I think we are going to get somewhere and I hope very much that this conference you are all having will bring, as far as possible, unanimity of thought and action in all the States looking toward a more permanent and national policy.

We have made great strides in the past two and a half years in raising the prices of crops or in saving people from bankruptcy or in opening the banks, but the biggest stride we have made in the past two and a half years has been in interesting the American people in their own Government. I think we have gone further in the past two and a half years than in the last twenty-five years in getting people to understand their Government problems, their social problems and their educational problems. But we cannot go faster than a certain speed and get away with it, and that is why I am going to ask you people to be kind and cooperate and not push me too fast.

(The President of the State Superintendents of Education then expressed thanks to the President for his courtesy and assured the President that he could depend on their co-operation. To this, the President replied:)

That is very good of you. I feel very badly about education in one way because the depression hit education in the United States more than anything else, and it is harder to bring back the facilities in education as quickly or as easily as it is to raise farm prices or open banks.

As you know, I am acquainted with the educational situation not only in the State of New York but in the State of Georgia as well. The problem of the State of Georgia, for example, is the fact that they have not got taxable values. They cannot raise money for schools because the land values are not there. Now that is one of the problems, not only in Georgia but in a great many sections of the country. Under such circumstances you cannot get better physical conditions in the schools or better trained teaching staffs. I always remember the first year I was in Georgia. One day, sitting on the porch of the little cottage in which I lived, a boy came over very nervously and shyly and said, "Mr. Roosevelt, may I speak to you for a moment? We are having a commencement at our school

on Wednesday. Do you think you could come over and say a few words and give out the diplomas?"

I said, "Certainly, I will be glad to come."

I said, "Are you the President of the graduating class?"

He said, "No, sir; I am the Principal of the school."

I said, "How old are you?"

"I am nineteen."

I said, "You are nineteen and Principal of the school? How many children are there?"

He said, "About two hundred and forty children."

I said, "Have you been to college?"

He said, "Yes, sir; I finished my freshman year at the University of Georgia."

I said, "How are you getting along?"

He said, "I am taking the year out so that I can get enough to go back next year and I will be a sophomore."

I said, "What pay are you getting?"

"I am getting good pay, four hundred and twenty-five dollars."

That is a pretty pathetic story when you come right down to it. It is a pretty tough game.

It is good to see you all. (Applause)

THE PRESIDENT'S CHRISTMAS GREETING
5.15 P. M., December 24, 1935

Once more the most joyous of all days draws near and again it is my great privilege on this blessed Eve of the Nativity to wish the American people everywhere a Merry Christmas.

This is the third time that I have joined in these Christmas Eve festivities. We are gathered together in a typical American setting in the park here in front of the White House. Before me and around me is an American assemblage -- men and women of all ages -- youths and maidens -- young children who know nothing about the cares of life -- all jubilant with joyous expectation.

The night is falling and the spirit of other days, too, broods over the scene. Andrew Jackson looks down upon us from his prancing steed; and the four corners of the square in which we are gathered around a gaily lit Christmas tree are guarded by the figures of intrepid leaders in the Revolutionary War -- Von Steuben, the German, Kosciuszko, the Pole, and LaFayette and Rochambeau from the shores of France.

This is in keeping with the universal spirit of the festival we are celebrating; for we who stand here among our

guardians out of the past and from far shores are, I suppose, as diverse in blood and origin as are the uncounted millions throughout the land to whom these words go out tonight. But around the Manger of the Babe of Bethlehem "all nations and kindreds and tongues" find unity. For the spirit of Christmas knows no race, no creed, no clime, no limitation of time or space.

The spirit of Christmas breathes an eternal message of peace and good will to all men. We pause therefore on this Holy Night and laying down the burdens and the cares of life and casting aside the anxieties of the common day, rejoice that nineteen hundred years ago, heralded by Angels, there came into the world One whose message was of peace, who gave to all mankind a new commandment of love. In that message of love and of peace we find the true meaning of Christmas.

And so I greet you with the greeting of the Angels on that first Christmas at Bethlehem which, resounding through centuries, still rings out with its eternal message: "Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace, good will to men."

January 29, 1938

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CONFIDENTIAL UNTIL RELEASED

CAUTION: This address of the President, to be delivered in connection with the celebration of his birthday anniversary, is for release in editions of all newspapers appearing on the streets NOT EARLIER than 11:30 P. M., E.S.T.

Care must be exercised to prevent premature publication.

STEPHEN EARLY
Secretary to the President

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MY FRIENDS:

My heart goes out in gratitude to the whole American people tonight -- for we have found common cause in presenting a solid front against an insidious but deadly enemy, the scourge of Infantile Paralysis.

It is a very glorious thing for us to think of what has been accomplished in our own lifetime to cure epidemic diseases, to relieve human suffering and to save lives. It was by united effort on a national scale that tuberculosis has been brought under control; it was by united effort on a national scale that smallpox and diphtheria have been almost eliminated as dread diseases.

Today the major fight of medicine and science is being directed against two other scourges, the toll of which is unthinkable great -- Cancer and Infantile Paralysis. In both fields the fight is again being conducted with national unity -- and we believe with growing success.

Tonight, because of your splendid help, we are making it possible to unite all the forces against one of these plagues by starting the work of the new National Foundation for Infantile Paralysis. The dollars and dimes contributed tonight and in the continuing campaign will be turned over to this new Foundation, which will marshal its forces for the amelioration of suffering and crippling among Infantile Paralysis victims wherever they are found. The whole country remains the field of work. We expect through scientific research, through epidemic first aid, through dissemination of knowledge of care and treatment, through the provision of funds to centers where the disease may be combated through the most enlightened method and practice to help men and women and especially children in every part of the land.

Since the first birthday celebrations in 1934, many splendid results have been accomplished so that in literally hundreds of localities facilities for combating the disease have been created where none existed before.

We have learned much during these years and when, therefore, I was told by the doctors and scientists that much could be gained by the establishment of this new National Foundation for Infantile Paralysis, I was happy, indeed, to lend my birthday to this united effort.

During the past few days bags of mail have been coming, literally by the truck load, to the White House. Yesterday between forty and fifty thousand letters came to the mail room of the White House. Today an even greater number -- how many I cannot tell you -- for we can only estimate the actual count by counting the mail bags.

In all the envelopes are dimes and quarters and even dollar bills -- gifts from grown-ups and children -- mostly from children who want to help other children to get well.

Literally, by the countless thousands, they are pouring in, and I have figured that if the White House Staff and I were to work on nothing else for two or three months to come we could not possibly thank the donors. Therefore, because it is a physical impossibility to do it, I must take this opportunity of thanking all of those who have given, to thank them for the messages that have come with their gifts, and to thank all who have aided and cooperated in the splendid work we are doing. Especially am I grateful to those good people who have spread the news of these birthday parties throughout the land in every part of all the big cities and the smaller cities and towns and villages and farms.

It is glorious to have one's birthday associated with a work like this. One touch of nature makes the whole world kin. And that kinship, which human suffering evokes, is perhaps the closest of all, for we know that those who work to help the suffering find true spiritual fellowship in that labor of love.

So, although no word of mine can add to the happiness we share in this great service in which we are all engaged, I do want to tell you all how deeply I appreciate everything you have done. Thank you all and God bless you all.

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INFORMAL, EXTEMPORANEOUS REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT
to Visiting Protestant Churchmen (about 300)
Executive Offices of the White House
January 31, 1938, 1.05 P.M.

(Following is a copy of release to the press containing the
President's remarks, as edited by Mr. Early.)

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January 31, 1938.

Dr. Oscar F. Blackwelder of the Lutheran Church of the Reformation, President of the Washington Ministerial Union, made the following statement today when he, in company with more than two hundred Protestant ministers, was received by the President in his offices at the White House:

"Mr. President:

"By vote of the Ministerial Union of Washington, I pray the privilege of presenting this message for our body to you.

"In accepting your hospitality we are confident that we come into the presence not only of our Chief Executive but of our friend and brother in the Christian Faith.

"At our meeting this morning your Secretary of Commerce, Hon. Daniel C. Roper, has impressed us greatly with his penetrating address upon 'Human Security,' after which our Association adopted the following resolution:

"WHEREAS, We, the members of the Ministerial Union of Washington, D. C., have heard with profound appreciation, the address of Hon. Daniel C. Roper, Secretary of Commerce, for cooperative action on a national scale that will have as its objective the revival and reinvigoration of those Christian virtues that undergird our national Institutions, and

"WHEREAS, We are convinced that these virtues cannot be strengthened or even long maintained by the great majority of our citizens without a vital religious faith, supported by private prayer and public worship, and

"WHEREAS, We realize the immediate need of implementing this program if its objective is to be attained,

"THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED, That the President of the Ministerial Union be authorized to appoint twenty-one members of this body, not over two from any single denomination, to confer with Mr. Roper and other leading men in American life relative to the procedure that should be taken by the religious forces in America in arousing all our people to the imperative necessity for a return to God, a return which will find its individual expression in a rededication to the service of God, home and country, and its corporate expression in a keener social conscience and higher ethical standards, and

"BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, That the committee named is hereby instructed to communicate with other religious bodies not represented in this assembly, to secure their active participation in this endeavor to awaken America to the prime importance of restoring moral and spiritual values to their rightful place in the lives of all patriotic citizens.

"Mr. President, conscious of the historical contribution of Christianity to human betterment, both personal and social, we are anxious as a group of ministers to do our part today and we believe we speak in the spirit of the clergy of America.

"In your address before the Federal Council of Churches in Constitution Hall in 1934, you declared, 'No greater thing could come to our land today than a revival of the spirit of religion - a revival

that would seep through the homes of the nation and set the hearts of men and women of all faiths to a reassertion of their belief in God and their dedication to His will for themselves and for their world. I doubt if there is any problem -- social, political, or economic -- that would not melt away before the fire of such a spiritual awakening.' That word of yours we have used nationwide. It has brought courage to the church life of America.

"We pastors of the Protestant Churches of Washington, although holding many different political opinions, wish to pay our respects to you as our fellow Church man as well as Chief Executive. We desire to pledge through you our thought, our prayer, our useful service to our country in these difficult days and to request you to make any suggestion of ways and means by which we and our brethren in the ministry can be of the highest value to our day and generation."

The President replied, speaking extemporaneously:

"I am grateful to you for this wonderful expression of faith -- of faith and works, and I am glad that you referred to what I said in 1934 about the need of spiritual reawakening in the country. I do not know how you gentlemen feel but I cannot help feeling myself, 'from the testimony that comes to me day by day, that there has been definite and distinct progress towards a spiritual reawakening in the four years which have passed since I spoke in 1934. I receive evidences of this from all of our Protestant Churches; I get it from Catholic priests and from Jewish rabbis, as well.

"It is a very significant thing that this awakening has come about in America. It makes me realize more fully that we do have, in addition to the duty we owe to our own people, an additional duty to the rest of the world. Things have been going on in other countries -- things which are not spiritual in any sense of the word -- and that is putting it mildly.

"I must make a confession: I did not realize until the last few years how much influence America has in the world. I did not really, deep down in my heart, believe very much in church missions in other lands. Today I do. I have seen what the American church missions have accomplished in many countries, not only on the religious side but on the side of health and of education. After all, the three of them tie in very definitely together. We call what we have been doing 'human security' and 'social justice'. In the last analysis all of those terms can be described by one word and that is 'Christianity.'

"We have made great progress at home and I believe in making that progress we have had a great influence in other nations of the world. We have gone far in these years towards a greater human security and a greater social justice. We don't want to stop that progress. We want to keep on. We have a task, not only for four years or eight years or twenty years to come -- but a task that lasts through all eternity. As long as we continue to make the progress we are making, we can look for a safer and better America in our own lifetimes.

"You good people have been working toward that end. You have been rendering a great service to your Government.

"We still have a long way to go and we have, whether we like it or not, to think about the average man, woman and child in the United States. We are doing just that and they appreciate it. That is one reason why the Churches are stronger today than they were four years ago. If we can continue to make the same progress in the next several years as we have in the past, we can feel we have been good and faithful servants.

"I appreciate your coming here and all I can say is God bless you; keep up the good work."

HOLD FOR RELEASE

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February 7, 1938

CAUTION: This address of the President, broadcast by him from the White House to the Boy Scouts of America **MUST BE HELD IN CONFIDENCE** until released.

NOTE: Release to all editions of newspapers appearing on the streets **NOT EARLIER** than 6:50 o'clock P.M., E.S.T.

STEPHEN EARLY
Secretary to the President

FELLOW SCOUTS:

I am happy to receive this report from Mr. Head on the accomplishments of our organization. On this twenty-eighth birthday of the Boy Scouts of America we should be especially thankful for a youth movement which seeks merely to preserve such simple fundamentals as physical strength, mental alertness and moral straightness -- a movement to support the ideals of peace.

I congratulate our leaders and especially our Scoutmasters who have made an outstanding record possible. We have increased in numbers and I am confident on the basis of what I, myself, have observed that we also are improving in the quality of Scouting. Last summer I had the opportunity to visit with thousands of you, from all parts of the country, in your great Jamboree camp here in Washington. I am really sorry that every citizen of the country did not see, as I did, the great national encampment of Scouts here along the Potomac River. I have seen no more cheering sight from the standpoint of the national future.

The theme chosen for our Boy Scout Week Observance -- "Building a Stronger Generation" -- is thoroughly worthwhile. I have always believed that scout training does help to build health for boys and young men. It encourages them to get out into the open, to develop good health habits. It helps to make them hardy and vigorous. Of course, we all recognize that "Building a Stronger Generation" involves more than good health. It involves strong character, initiative, resourcefulness and ideals of service -- qualities that you practice in your scouting experiences.

But it involves, also, learning all about other people -- your neighbors and their problems, the people who live in the other end of town and their problems, the people who live in the next town and their problems, those who live in the next State and their problems -- in other words, the problems of every part of the United States. When you have accomplished that you will realize, also, that there are problems outside the United States which affect you and your family and friends. Thus, the ideals of scouting include not only character and service but also knowledge. They will be as real and vital to you in your manhood as they are to you today in your boyhood.

It is my conviction that, through work with our youth, we shall secure the greatest assurance of maintaining our democracy in the face of those forces which advocate forms of government not consistent with our cherished American traditions. And the strength of this youth movement will develop in exact proportion to the support accorded it by communities who are interested in preserving our democracy.

I extend to you my best wishes for the year to come. Boy Scouts today -- you will be the citizens tomorrow, with a nation's keeping in your charge. I believe that you will be worthy of the trust.

ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT
Delivered in the East Room of the White House
To the Annual Meeting of the Mobilization for Human Needs
Friday, March 11, 1938, 10.15 A.M.

(CHAIRMAN TAFT, COMMUNITY CHEST WORKERS, FRIENDS OF HUMAN NEEDS:)

(Chairman Taft had introduced the President, merely saying:
"The President of the United States.")

I had to bring the Chairman forward. There was no other way of doing it. I do not believe I need an introduction to most of you good people since we have been engaged in this common cause for a good many years.

I am happy (again) to greet (the) you faithful workers assembled for their annual meeting in behalf of this national Mobilization for Human Needs. It is significant that this year marks the twenty-fifth anniversary of Community Chests and Councils -- the rounding out of a full quarter of a century of united approach by the private social agencies, an approach to the problems which they face throughout the Nation today.

Twenty-five years ago the proposal that an entire community should pool its efforts in a single drive to finance all welfare agencies, regardless of race or creed, was as radical as it was farsighted. So I am glad to greet you descendants of that radical group. The birth of the Community Chest was an important milestone in the evolution of our present viewpoint regarding aid to the unfortunate.

A natural development of this evolution is this Mobilization for Human Needs in which leaders and organizations of nationwide repute add their voices and influence to those of the local leaders. I have been glad to speak nationally each year since I have been here in behalf

of your local campaigns.

Let me state plainly that I do not feel that any of our governmental efforts can ever be substituted for the distinctive and voluntary expression of personal interest in human suffering which manifests itself through the Community Chest.

The founders of the Community Chest did not -- (they) and could not -- envision the problem of mass unemployment among able-bodied and willing men and women which has resulted from our complex industrial system. This evolution created an entirely new problem. Previous efforts had been to make maladjusted individuals fit into society, and of course this broad field of effort still exists. But when, in 1933, we faced the fact that nearly one out of every three able-bodied (workers in America) Americans had no job, we had to face the added fact that it was the system also which was out of gear.

Here is one difference between direct relief and work relief. Direct relief is aimed at many problems of human misfortune -- adjusting maladjusted families, taking care of the sick, tiding over a great number of kinds of crises in family life. Work relief is aimed at the problem of getting jobs for normal people who can give useful work to the country, and seeking adjustment of a maladjusted society rather than an adjustment of maladjusted individuals.

The importance of these employable millions may be more fully understood, perhaps, when it is realized that approximately (one) a third of them are under twenty-five years of age and will be either assets of liabilities (for many years to come), most of them for twenty, thirty or forty years to come, largely depending upon public policies toward them. If we do not give them a chance at something like normal

living, it is inevitable that they will become millions of individual problems. For these able-bodied unemployed, I am definitely committed to the giving of jobs instead of relief only. That, in brief, is an aspect of the relief problem and a most important aspect. I commend it to the consideration of all who are enlisted in this splendid work.

(Except in supplementing certain Social Security laws as (passed by the States, the Federal government has left the care of un- (employables -- the problem of maladjusted individuals -- to the states (and localities, the field which is the natural sphere of the Community (Cheats. The Federal government has chosen to confine itself to the (normal victims of the maladjusted economy, to create work for the em- (ployable unemployed. It is true that the national economy does not (today permit the Federal government to give useful work to all the (employable needy unemployed, but the Federal government is doing so (in the great majority of cases.

(The able-bodied unemployed need work and should have it. (But equally the economic system needs that they should have it. A (Federal works program not only serves the unemployed, it saves the (jobs of those who have jobs. Our industrial production cannot progress, (as it must, unless our masses have income with which to buy its products. (That, in brief, is an aspect of the relief problem -- and a most im- (portant aspect -- which I commend to the thoughtful consideration of (all who are enlisted in this splendid Mobilization for Human Needs.) Only in jobs and more jobs, at good pay, shall we find national stabil- ity and individual security.

Meanwhile, encouraged (and inspired) by a quarter of a cen- tury of practical activity, which has seen the base of charitable giving

steadily spread, I hope you will widen your appeal until every citizen with a competence -- great or little -- extends the helping hand to his less favored brother. That is an ambitious goal but I believe it can be reached.

Here is a work in which diverse creeds and classes can unite for the common good. Let us strive to bring into every community practical exemplification of the ideal of being a good neighbor. In that spirit I appeal to the American people to present a united front in the 1938 Mobilization for Human Needs. (Applause)

INFORMAL, EXTEMPORANEOUS REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT
From the Rear Platform of his Special Train
Toccoa, Georgia
March 23, 1938, 10.05 A. M.

The Governor handed me the microphone and I told him that I did not think I needed it.

I am nearly six months late. I intended to come down back to Georgia last autumn, but I had a bad tooth, which is a very human feeling, so I could not get down last November, but here I am again.

I am going to have a ten days' holiday. I am going to spend most of the time sleeping, (laughter) because, as you probably know, with forty-eight states to think about up there in Washington, I ought to have forty-eight hours in every day. Somehow it does not work out that way and even though I do stay up until midnight or one o'clock in the morning pretty nearly every night in Washington, I manage to get by with it if occasionally I can come down to Georgia.

So, it is good to see you all at the beginning of this holiday I am getting. I expect also while I am down here to look into some of the problems of this State; in a holiday spirit to talk to people, to talk to my neighbors about the problems of agriculture, to talk to people who are engaged in running stores, drugstores and general stores and factories, about the problems of this part of the country.

I do not have to tell you that I am very deeply interested in the State of Georgia. You go hand in hand with the rest of the Nation. If anything happens to you, it hurts the rest of the Nation, and if anything happens to the rest of the Nation it hurts you. So,

we are all in the same boat; we are all plowing the same furrow.

It is good to be back and I hope to see you again very soon because this year I hope there won't be another tooth and I hope to be able to come back in the fall.

ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT
Gainesville, Georgia
March 23, 1938

(There were 25,000 to 30,000 people in the audience.)

MR. CHAIRMAN, GOVERNOR RIVERS, MAYOR BROWN, and I can come closer
than any President since Wilson to saying, MY FELLOW GEORGIANS:
(Applause)

Although I have lived for a long time in Middle Georgia,
I take pride in the fact that the blood of North Georgia runs in
the veins of my children. (Applause)

Twice I tried to come to Gainesville and twice I was pre-
vented by one of the infirmities that might attack any of us.

The third try brings me here and brings me here for the
first time since that day in 1936 when, for a few minutes, my train
stopped at the station and I saw the havoc of the great tornado.

This celebration, the outward and visible commemoration
of the rebirth of Gainesville, is more than a symbol of the fine
courage which has made it possible for this city to come back after
it (was) had been in great part destroyed (by the tornado of 1936).

These ceremonies touch the interest and life of the whole
of the Nation because they typify citizenship, citizenship which is
latent in the American character (but which) that has too often
(remains) remained quiescent and too seldom expresses itself. You
were not content to clear away the debris (which) that I, myself,
saw that day, (as I passed through Gainesville) a couple of days
after the disaster. You were not content with rebuilding along the
lines of the old community. You were not content with throwing

yourselves on the help (which) that could be given to you by (your) the State and by the Federal Government.

On the contrary, you determined in the process of rebuilding to eliminate old conditions of which you were not proud; to re-build a better city; to replace congested areas with parks; to move human beings from slums to suburbs. For this you, the (citizens) good people of Gainesville, deserve all possible praise.

It is true that in the planned work of rebuilding you received Federal assistance.

Yesterday, Chairman Jesse Jones of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation (tells) told me that (they) his corporation has invested nearly (one) a million dollars in Gainesville after the disaster with the objective of helping to rebuild the city and that in all these years he knows of no similar sum (which) that has been used to better advantage. (Applause) The Public Works Administration in Washington aided in projects for schools, for an almshouse, for (a) this courthouse, for water works and for a jail -- I do not believe you need a big jail here -- and the Works Progress Administration assisted not only in cleaning up the wreck and taking care of destitute (people) families but also in repairing sewers and sidewalks, street lighting, (repaving) pavements and parks and schools. But all of this would have been wholly insufficient if you had not provided far greater help from your own ranks, help in the form of money, help in the form of work, and, most important of all, help in the form of unselfish cooperation.

In the task there has been an essential unanimity, a unanimity in the gift of personal interest and personal service.